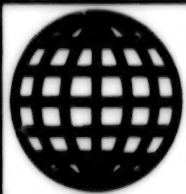


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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-90-029

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4 June 1990

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## **CPSU Ideology Official Examines Perestroika Shortfalls**

90UN1498A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by G. Zyuganov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department: "Realism of Actions"]

### **[Text] Assess the Situation from All Sides**

There are more than enough appeals to move immediately to practical actions. But in order to select the right course bearing, particularly in our stormy and troubled times, it is necessary to orient ourselves precisely within the social and political situation, to evaluate the situation from all sides.

When carrying out perestroika, the CPSU stands firmly on principled positions. It is proceeding from a communist perspective and remains unswervingly true to the socialist option and to the ideas of October. And what I would like to emphasize particularly in connection with the approaching 120th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth is that our movement forward is a movement together with Lenin. Freeing Lenin's legacy from extraneous dogmatic features, distortions and falsifications, the party sees in it one of the most important sources of its ideological and political renewal, a scientific method and an effective means for comprehending and transforming objective reality.

However, five years have already passed since the beginning of perestroika. This is a considerable period of time, even by historical measure. Perestroika is now experiencing great difficulties. And here one can no longer make do with pro forma references to stagnation, the command system, and all possible kinds of cults, large and small. What is needed is a thorough analysis of what has been done. I think that this is necessary not only for strategic, but also for tactical considerations. For, in recent times, when they want to drive an ideological worker "into a corner", audiences, made wise by life's experiences, frequently resort to the logic of historical parallels. Within five years, they say, the Bolsheviks in honest struggle won the Civil War, lived through the difficulties of War Communism, and mastered the rudiments of NEP. In five years, we allowed the fascists as far as the Volga, but then succeeded in finishing them off in our own lair. During a period of five years, we restored our national economy, one-third of which had been destroyed by the war, and eliminated the US monopoly on nuclear weapons. In a period of five years, we penetrated into space, achieved military parity and, according to the assessment of the West itself, transformed ourselves into a superpower. And you, having "proclaimed" perestroika and built great hopes, have in fact have brought the country to collapse, have left us without soap and nails, and at the same time you want to escape responsibility.

If we are serious politicians and ideologists, then we must take this bitter logic of ordinary perception into

account. Yes, it is time to draw conclusions, to understand wherein lie the strong and weak sides of perestroika and what our most urgent problems are.

Here, I would like to draw the attention of our readers to several points. The first is **simultaneity**. Having begun perestroika, the party was forced to solve, essentially simultaneously, the many large and complex problems which had accumulated over the years and decades. To work out a new economic mechanism, to introduce political and legal reform, to shovel aside the barriers of bureaucracy and embezzlement of official funds, to renew the party. But, when simultaneously solving many problems, selection of priorities, precision of goals, and clear determination of strategy obtain exceptional significance.

In my view, two serious mistakes were permitted here. Again an old illness appeared—the economy was sacrificed to politics. If you analyze the past three years, then practically every half year we have been drawn into a new political campaign which has riveted the basic efforts not only of party and soviet workers, but also of the economic managers. And has not allowed us to occupy ourselves as we should with modernization of the national economy. And second—behind the general discussions about a law-governed state, we have forgotten to ensure elementary law and order. And this, in turn, has sharply exacerbated already complicated ethnic relationships.

In short, the economy, legality, and ethnic relationships should become the priorities of our political and ideological work.

The second point is the party's **credit of trust**. To a large extent, this was already expended by the beginning of perestroika and it has been exhausted even further as a result of the unthinking battle against drunkenness and the explosion of speculative, I emphasize, speculative cooperatives, by the campaigns of economic managers in the election, and by certain other insufficiently considered actions. All this has engendered fear, pretentiousness, and ideological and political helplessness among our cadres. Intraparty relationships have been weakened. Party oblast, city, and rayon committees rather frequently charge that the Central Committee and its departments are providing them with little assistance in this difficult time. It must be acknowledged that this criticism is entirely justified.

We began perestroika under conditions when the **moral health of society** was at its worst, when its nervous system was exhausted, when the sense of realism had been so spent out that even mass-scale "mudslinging" suddenly was nicely termed "purification." And so, in this unprepared soil, the long-awaited seeds of democracy and glasnost suddenly began to sprout not only the grains being cultivated but also the thistles of nationalism, extremism, and vulgarity. Today, this is obvious to almost everyone. If we were to check our own moral watches against certain of the "heroes" of glasnost and



"pets" of democracy today, then, it seems to me that society will not quickly emerge from its stressful situation and squabbles. The time has long since come to recognize the danger carried by the imported foreign viruses not only of AIDS but also of political prostitution. And here the Central Committee must take a precise and clear position. Rank-and-file Communists are waiting for this. They are simply demanding this.

What factors are most of all destabilizing the situation? To all appearances, there are two of them. The euphoria of power, i.e. the typical syndrome of populism. And denigration of the entire life lived by our country, of all its state and social institutions. Speaking frankly, an unprincipled struggle for power is underway against the background of the worsening social and economic situations. Democratic norms and legality are being violated on all sides. Opponents of the party, without restraint, are defaming everyone—from instructors of the rayon party committee to members of the Politburo. They are cynically manipulating public opinion. The structures of the state, of the party, the army, state security, and the trade unions are being destroyed. At the same time, there is no clear view of what is to replace them, what this is bringing our multi-national and greatly suffering fatherland. Are not we ourselves driving events to collapse while having again put our faith in theoretical schemes that do not correspond to life?

**Social consciousness** has turned out to be in a most difficult situation. It is living through a real drama. The minds of many are totally confused. As Chernyshevskiy wrote in his time, if there is confusion in minds, then there will be nonsense in deeds. For a lack of clarity in world outlook essentially reduces any creative process to naught. Frankly speaking, what kind of consciousness will survive when yesterday everything was considered to be the very best, the most radiant, the most progressive, but today almost nothing remains in the history of our thousand-year old state besides criminals and victims. And, in this regard, certain of the mass information media have been working with enviable effectiveness. But, if history had contained only criminals and their victims, then the former would long ago have made short work of them.

In ideological work we earlier taught and explained. Now it has become very complicated to teach. And what do you have the right to teach if, in fact, things do not turn out to be so. It is, frankly speaking, difficult to explain—many people no longer want to listen to anything. They are tired of empty words and promises. For example, the cost of the pre-election promises given the people a year ago is estimated at approximately from 4-6 trillion rubles. Today almost nobody recalls them. And what is there to recall, if the potentials of the US and Japanese economies taken together are insufficient for their fulfillment?

It is obvious that today only deeds, changes for the better in the situation, a so-called positive increment, can correct the situation. The policy of universal verbal

tightrope walking has outlived itself; it no longer helps. A policy of creative realism is needed. Of weekly structural analysis of specific work. Work on executing the planned tasks of perestroika, its blueprints. With a concrete assessment of what has been done, of the personal responsibility of engineers, work superintendents, and various kinds of workers.

In an enormous country, stretching from ocean to ocean, populated by peoples of all hues, by all known temperaments and religious convictions, many, as before, are looking for an overseas magic wand for everyone and for any occasion. I am afraid that this is a hopeless endeavor. We have already looked and we have not found one. And if someone finds one—this will be a new "corn" epic.

Indeed, it has been clear from the outset that the law on land will have an enormous specificity of application in unpopulated, non-black-earth Russia, in the expanses of the virgin lands, on the farmsteads in the Baltics, or in the overpopulated Fergana valley. And only practice will show that the new laws are well conceived and viable. It is necessary to begin, not delay. It is precisely on such an approach that the basic efforts of the party, of all our ideological institutes, should be concentrated. Otherwise the party will in fact lag behind. It will be shunted to the wayside of political life.

#### It Is Necessary to Begin, Not Delay

However the most alarming thing, I think, lies in the fact that the processes of a worsening in the political and psychological feelings of the people have not been halted. Marx has a curious thought, connected with the fact that social consciousness is most intensively demoralized in two seeming mutually exclusive cases: when people see a crime and do not see a punishment and, to the contrary, when they see a punishment but do not understand the essence of the crime.

And so: In the times of repression, the country lived through a period when people saw punishment—their comrade at work or their neighbor at home disappeared—but did not understand the essence of their crime. And today, similarly, we have decided to show the justice of the second part of this philosophical conclusion of Marx. Submarines sink. Trains burn and explode. The state cooperative is doing away with national property. They are selling the black earth is being sold, a one-centimeter layer of which takes a hundred years to grow. In a matter of hours, 200 kilometers of state border, sacred and inviolable, are broken up. Countless emissaries are bustling around the country, setting one people upon another. Speculators have already made a stealthy approach to Red Square. Publicly, before the people, the worthiness of the president and the government are being insulted. Incidents of outrages against the memory of Lenin are no longer isolated, against the strength and greatness of an intellect worshipped by even the most inveterate opponents of socialism.

And there are no people guilty of this, other than the little men who are always blamed. There also is no corresponding reaction from the public. The courts and the Supreme Soviet are silent. Basically, in an era of glasnost, the public has turned out to be anonymous. To make the actual criminals answerable has turned out to be much more complicated than to heap all sins onto those who have passed away and already gone to another world. And the country is in extreme need of a business-like, stable situation, of law and order.

The question of power is the main question of any revolution. Again today everybody is talking about this: both those on the left and the right, the centrists and the newly appeared monarchists, the desperate radicals and the typical conservatives. And even those who never have engaged in politics. "All power to the soviets," "Down with the power of the partycrats," "The apparatchiks have seized all power," "Party, get rolling." By inertia, this propagandistic fuss still goes on. But if somebody has seized all power then why do the voices of leading specialists talk about a "power vacuum," why do its "weakness" and its "indifference" sound so alarming today? Because many have again begun to suffer from still another massive delusion, still another "manipulation" of social consciousness. It is true that, after the Supreme Soviet a year ago passed about thirty laws and all of them have not been working as they should, people began to think more deeply about what is wrong. And what is wrong results from a rather well known phenomenon. A law can function if, at a minimum, there are two conditions; if there exists a mechanism for its implementation and when it—the law—**becomes a part of your consciousness**. And you consciously do not step over the limit that is forbidden by the law.

And as regards the mechanism for the exercise of power, then it has a rather complicated structure. Executive and management power, the power of the courts, administrative, supervisory, political power, the power of tradition and moral authority. There is still another power—the power of information. This is a subject for special study.

If you look closely, then all this complicated pyramid of power, other than the power of information, has been severely weakened in recent times. All its elements, not without reason, have been subjected to massive attacks. A very bad situation has developed on the local level, where local soviets and party committees up until the present time do not have the economic and legal powers they should. They clearly cannot do anything for anybody, and demands are being made of them for everything. One of the most serious mistakes lies in the fact that the question of local self-rule has not yet been resolved.

**For a long time, party power was built into the administrative mechanism as its basic core. It often commanded, issued directives, and also misused its position, but it cemented the entire social organism together. Its removal from the mechanism of power is entirely justified. But this took place so quickly that it stopped working altogether.**

The paralysis set in that people are talking about today, one that is dangerous not only for us. Indeed, we are talking about a country that has every system of weapons, a country that should not for a minute be without reliable direction. Unfortunately, also this time in a hurry, we began by destroying and now, in that same hurry, we are creating something anew.

**Great hopes have been placed in presidential power, which is supposed to reestablish the normal functioning of the state. However, it is capable of solving these tasks if it has a good basis at its roots. And here, the party must do a great deal through the Communists who work in all institutions of power. But using different approaches and methods this time. These will have to be mastered.**

What is the consolidating basis for a change of the situation to the better? In my opinion, it is rather clear. Preservation and strengthening of a unified Union of Soviet Socialist Republics based on renewal of the federation. Accelerated solution of the crying problems of Russia as the basis of this union. Unified laws and rules of human community life for all peoples that live in the country. A consolidated, unified Communist Party. A reliable defense capability. And from a moral and political point of view—worthy preparation and conduct of the 120th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth and the 45th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War.

Criminality is exercising a very strong destabilizing influence on the situation. It is here, in essence, that all the costs of our mistakes are focused. Criminality is raging, the statistics are stunning, the press is revelling, the average man, although also afraid, is savoring it with pleasure. I can add that the situation is actually worse than it seems from the outside. During 1989, almost 45,000 more people were killed and perished for various reasons within the country than in the preceding year. There were 109,000 more people robbed, maimed, and raped. The losses, as we see, cannot be compared with ten years of war in Afghanistan; they are far greater. But there, soldiers perished on the field of battle, carrying out orders. This is somehow consoling. But here?

There is a great deal of shouting about red and white terror, but doesn't this instigate new cases of violence? Indeed, these are again spreading throughout the country. Pogroms, burnings, refugees. During the past three years there have been almost 30 attempts to hijack airplanes and approximately 700 were averted. A wave of mass meetings threatens to turn into a tidal wave and to throw our drifting ship of state up onto the "reefs." National enmity is blazing, but almost nobody has been condemned for manifestations of nationalism. However, this is also a photograph. The whole question is why such a thing is occurring? What is contributing to it? What kind of measures need to be taken?

I believe that almost all public institutions have made a "worthy contribution" to the growth of criminality in recent times. And if we do not honestly acknowledge this, then no special troops, no truncheons, and no

armored vests will help in the struggle against the ugly grimaces of the criminal world.

Take an unbiased look at the social and informational background on which crime is growing and you will see its true "hydroponics."

Propaganda to live beyond one's means has become prevalent. Economic accountability is good, but economic-accounting egoism encourages stealing from the young people. Because, today, 10-15 rubles are needed in order to go with one's classmates to the most primitive pop concert which, in turn, quite often has a bad odor of lack of culture and unruliness.

Newspapers that are more concerned about the many thousands earned by our sportsmen who go abroad or about contests of long-legged beauties than they are about labor, about a healthy way of life and mass physical culture. Are there really no longer any young people in the Komsomol Central Committee who could analyze the content of certain publications for youth and to help them turn their faces toward life, and not toward its backyards?

A false humanism which all at once released 600,000 criminals from confinement without necessary preparation of all services that were obligated to help these unfortunate people to adapt themselves in normal conditions.

Organized baiting of the administrative organs, as a result of which the turnover of personnel has reached 20 percent and whose work load has consequently grown 2.2-fold. And, after this, we are hoping for a good detection rate and an effective battle against organized crime.

And take a look at the output of our mass culture, where a cult of high living, sex, and vulgarity has begun to rein. And prominent figures in culture for some reason are bashfully silent about this. True, it is possible to understand them; they are now more occupied with politics. Take for example the motion picture producer. Film workers have joined the vanguard of perestroika. They have justly called for repentance. But somehow their own repentance has not been evident after they began to hammer all the screens with the undisguised "delights" of men and women. Recall the last five or six films produced for young people, where completely justified protest against social disorder is expressed in one and the same primitive scene of bestial violence against a woman. And this is done with enthusiasm. Is there any reason to be surprised then that such serious crimes as rape are growing like a snowball within the country?

It should also be kept in mind that when, with a "robot-like" voice, a kindly television commentator tells millions of viewers about dismembered corpses thrown from a bridge or about children found in a garbage dump without at the same time expressing protest or commiseration, then this is no longer information. This is a kind of narcotic which lowers the moral plane of society and cultivates an all-permissiveness. Psychologists know this very well. But try to complain, and they will commit you.

However, if we want to live in normal human conditions, let us seriously concern ourselves with all these problems.

### Truth Demands Courage and Will

The highest principle of educational work is truth. Pushkin himself said: Where there is truth, beauty will appear by itself. But truth, besides honesty, demands great courage and will and an ability for timely dialectical analysis of phenomena. Unfortunately, truth also often becomes a subject of speculation, entangled with opportunism and self-seeking. Therefore, while fighting in words against dogmatism, we quite often fall into neo-dogmatism.

Take the command administrative system. How overwrought people have become about it, railing at and cursing it! Although it is understandable even to those who are not dedicated the wisdom of it that the system can be overcome only by a more perfect system, by more systematic, consistent, and tenacious work. And so long as there is a shortage of standards (kultura), knowledge, and convictions, misuse of the administrative system is almost unavoidable. So let us raise the level of knowledge and standards. We are dealing here, as they say, with unknown territory. And on the other hand, once a right exists, a law exists, this means that administrative coercion exists, particularly in a country with an economy that is out of balance. It is necessary to find the necessary boundary that will permit the economic method of management to be instituted by the shortest possible route.

Self-sufficiency is an excellent thing! But we have carried it to a point of absolute independence and freedom that does not exist in nature, and never has and never will. And we will not invent it, even though people here greatly love the idea of being "the first." This leads to a kind of separatism that is tearing apart alive the country, republics, territories, sectors, peoples and even families. For others, self-sufficiency is expressed in the formula—"decide for yourself." This leads to the fact that many party committees have ceased to work with newly selected cadres.

And what worth attaches to the assertion that supposedly the mass information media only reflect life? "Crafty, oh crafty is the writing fraternity." They do not only reflect but for a long time have been **organizing, molding, imposing, directing, and manipulating**. If this were not so, who would pay fabulous funds for advertising, would classify new technology as secret, or would seek editorial posts. A powerful informational power has already long existed. It is well paid, not only in rubles but also in dollars. Not all this has yet been recognized. Those who control it dictate their own conditions.

The effects of the influence of the press were seen with particular clarity during the past elections. Take for example the fact that five members of the numerically small editorial board of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY were elected people's deputies for Russia. I want



to stipulate right off that I in am no way calling into question their powers and personal qualities and have not the slightest desire to insult anyone. I am talking about something else, about political analysis of this phenomenon. Precisely a phenomenon, for, apparently, neither in the ancient nor the modern history not only of our country but also of the world can such a precedent be found. In a word, this fact can be boldly, without any preliminary verification, entered into the Guinness Book of World Records.

But, to be serious. Indeed, in the course of perestroika we have wanted to get away from all forms of clannishness, groupishness, and protectionism, and to reach broad popular government within the organs of power. And we have run up against the fact that now already the "packaging" of scarce information, supplied in editions of millions of copies, is presenting anew a principle as old as the world: "You give to me, I give to you." In this case, this is actually how it turned out in the elections. You provide me with sparse information and make it a little more pointed and sharp and I will support you with pleasure. It would seem that there is something blameworthy here. All the more so as people knew little about the remaining candidates in the popular elections. And here a reflection of the all-union fame of a popular publication fell on all five at once. This foreordained the outcome of the campaign.

In no case can we permit the misuses of the power of information that are already present. Otherwise we will get a new zone that is beyond criticism, a new "Okhranka" that will be no way better than the preceding one. For purposeful information can create a total sensation of force, a kind of psychosis where even those who have never before held them in their hands will reach for arms.

The most refined neo-dogmatism has manifested itself in the struggle against the apparatchiks. This campaign has exceeded the analogous vain attempts of the 1920's. The apparatus has been presented simply as a source of all troubles. The campaign for wholesale censure of the apparatus has turned out to be profitable for very many people. Both those who have been assigned great powers but are not making timely decisions and are hiding behind the back of the disciplinary apparatus. As well as those who are afraid personally to criticize the authority of the powers that be but are happy to fulminate against the nameless apparatus. And those who do not see the real reasons for our difficulties but are ready to make a basic "scapegoat" out of the apparatus. And for those who are straining for power and have already prepared their own apparatus.

I will say sincerely that I have been looking for an instructor who might "replace" the secretary of a rayon, city, or oblast party committee. And I have not found one. But the secretary of a party committee cannot be considered an apparatchik; this is a person who is accountable to those who have elected him. Here, a substitution of concepts is intentionally taking place in order to destroy and finally bleed the party white.

It is true that those who are prospecting for gold from glasnost have gone somewhat further. More and more often the idea of "making" a collective enemy of all managers, and then also of the entire party, is hovering in the social atmosphere. This being realized in accordance with the laws of formal logic: The Communist is a manager, who is a bureaucrat, and this means an enemy. But if the number of the "enemies of the people" newly fabricated in this way is multiplied by a coefficient of family membership, then we get every third or fourth inhabitant of the country. Then, 1937 will seem like light exercise as compared with the new cataclysms. This is not only a dead end in terms of world outlook and morals, this is a dead end in general. There is no way out of it. But for the time-being, unfortunately, society is being strongly drawn in this direction.

They are also not even leaving aside the memory of V. I. Lenin. It is not sharp foreign tongues but our own homegrown renegades that have set about shattering his pedestal. Lenin has always been a hinderance to them and is a hinderance today, because his powerful mind saw the entire world at once and, first of all, its injustice. A person who spoke almost all the languages of Europe and who in his short 54 years wrote 55 volumes, he is as before one of the most widely read in the world. He has always been distinguished by the surprising clarity of his assessments and the precision of his political positions. He foresaw the development of events and led the masses behind himself. Even today, the lately sprung nouveau riche are afraid of him. Because he always firmly stated categorically that swindlers (zhuliki) are the principle parasites on the body of the people and any diminution of the struggle against them is the greatest of crimes against socialism.

Politically corrupt demagogues also are afraid. Because there is no more convincing an evaluation of their activities than the classic expression of Lenin regarding the fact that people will always remain pitiful victims of deceit in politics if they do not learn to see the true interests behind flowery words and phrases.

#### Use the Chance of Personal Conscience

And last. As is popularly said, there are no desperate situations, there are only desperate people. In any situation, it is possible to use the chance of personal conscience and sense of measure. I have had occasion to analyze various extreme situations. They would have hardly occurred if a sense of civic duty had existed, if there had been a corresponding level of professionalism, personal demand, and responsibility.

I agree completely with Academician Legasov, who prematurely departed this life on his own will and who remained longer at Chernobyl than others. He said that the main reason for the accident at the station lay in the fact that the engineers and technicians operating it stood on the shoulders not of Tolstoy and Dostoevskiy but of the same kind of technocrats as they themselves. Their level of morality and standards did not correspond to the

complexity of the equipment entrusted to them. I think that this is the basic reason for many of our other troubles as well. Again we come down to standards. To standards of management, mutual relationships, and analysis.

Can we really speak of high standards of analysis when they endlessly show, exasperating and embittering the people, long trains of railroad cars that have not been unloaded. Although every car has a specific consignee, a specific person who is responsible for it. Change the perspective of the television camera, show the do-nothing bureaucrat, and a great deal of freight will reach the customer tomorrow.

In order to stabilize the situation in the country it is necessary to change decisively the tonality of the printed and spoken word. Otherwise we will distort everything. Our heirs will never forgive this. There is a great deal of egging-on and setting of contrasts. I have no desire even to say what such contrasts have cost—villages with and without prospects. This is clear to all. But now, new, no less destructive contrasts have appeared. Russians to non-Russians, indigenous to non-indigenous, occupiers to non-occupiers, emigrants to non-emigrants, directors to subordinates, young to old. Moreover, this is being done in such a way that no respect remains for the past, for age, for the older person. Although it is clear that without these moral norms no society can develop.

At this crucial stage of perestroika, an active, vital stance by every citizen of the country, a sense of responsibility and measure, is a guarantee of stabilization of the situation, of the implementation of very important new decisions and program regulations. We must pass these tests with honor. No matter what is preached to us today and by whom, such values as Motherland, Fatherland, peace, home, family, love, freedom, labor, knowledge, justice, conscience, dignity, and charity are not transitory. They have been gained through the suffering of mankind, secured by generations of our forebears, and we are obligated to be their worthy heirs.

### Readers Query Official on CPSU Draft Statutes

90UN14974 Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*  
in Russian 13 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Transcript of reader call-in with V. Chuprunov: "The 'Pyramid' Is Collapsing: Ten Calls on the Direct Line for Central Committee Official"]

[Text] Soon after the publication of the draft statutes of the CPSU, the *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* editors invited the readers to talk with one of the direct participants in its creation, V. Chuprunov, sector head of the CPSU Central Committee's Party Building and Cadre Policy Department.

Before sitting down to the telephone on our "direct line," Vladimir Ivanovich told us that the appearance of this draft had been preceded by thousands of suggestions, and that dozens of proposed texts had been submitted by

Communists and non-Party members and then analyzed by the members and apparatus workers of the Central Committee, sociologists, both in the center and in outlying regions. In this work they set themselves a goal: not simply to update the statutes, as used to happen before a congress, but to create fundamentally new statutes that corresponded to the modern stage in the life of our society and the role of the CPSU—its political vanguard.

How much of a success has it been? No one would ever say complete. On the other hand, it is a draft, which needs to crystallize in the crucible of discussion. And here is the first telephone call:

[A. Matalin, Communist Party member since 1941] Vladimir Ivanovich, I read the section about Communist Party membership in the draft statutes, and I'll say right out I'm not satisfied. Nothing is said concretely about the moral face of the Communist, it's all implied. I wouldn't have crossed out the slogan "The Party is the mind, honor, and conscience of our age."

[Chuprunov] Yes, at one time a "Moral Code for the Builder of Communism" was introduced into the statutes. Nowadays loud words like that provoke a smile at the least: it is more correct to win authority from the people through action. I think that the draft says it clearly enough: "to set an example of unwavering observance of legality and the norms of societal morality." After all, we've cut the statutes by one third. However, the delegates to the 28th Congress will have the last word.

[A. Obukhov, serviceman] Would you please spell out how people will go about getting accepted into the Party: will recommendations be needed, and if so, how many....

[Chuprunov] No, they won't. And there won't be a candidate status. This is a fundamentally new approach. The draft says: "Acceptance for Communist Party membership will be handled individually, democratically, and openly." And also: in an open Party meeting. That is, the person is accepted into a collective where everyone knows everyone else. He is in plain view, he can't get lost in the shuffle.

[Obukhov] I have another suggestion for the regulations. In point 10 about the election of delegates to Party conferences and congresses it is stated correctly: Communists are to be elected by direct vote. But then a sly expression wedges its way in: "as a rule." That absolutely must be crossed out!

In point 11, talking about elections for first secretary, it says: "Any number of candidacies can be included on the election ballots." There's a hidden trap here, you should add a comma and "but no less than two."

In point 15 there's no need to insist: Party organizations "shall recommend Communists and non-Party members to participate concretely in state, economic, and public activities." Let's say "can recommend." That won't get anyone's back up.

And last, point 18, on primary organizations and Party groups. Let's clarify: up to five is a Party group; more is an organization. Do you agree?

[Chuprunov] Basically, yes. In practice it happens that a primary of three people can be delegating a representative to a rayon conference, whereas a Party group of 15 can't. We need proportionality.

The suggestion to include no fewer than two names on the ballot smacks of formalism, in my opinion.

[A. Khodzhayev, Tashkent partkom deputy secretary] The Communists of our Mikond factory have made a suggestion about collective membership in the Communist Party, but there's nothing about that in the draft statutes.

[Chuprunov] There are weighty objections. There is significant population migration and cadre fluctuation in our country—in certain regions up to 75 per cent. If the collectives were stable . . .

[Khodzhayev] Vladimir Ivanovich, this is a matter of something else. The entire STK [Union of Labor Collectives] came to the partkom. This was their idea: if all the factory workers could be a collective member of the Party, we—the soviet—would assign a certain percentage of our profit to the Party treasury.

[Chuprunov] By all means. Read section 6 of the draft: the monetary funds of the Communist Party will "comprise membership dues, income from Party enterprises, and other contributions."

[Khodzhayev] Of course. I'll tell you what bothers a lot of people: Why were the draft regulations distributed for preliminary review not to primary organizations but at no lower a level than obkom first secretary? Where's the democracy in that?

[Chuprunov] But no one's preventing you from discussing it now. On the contrary, they're asking you to suggest emendations. The original text was sent to Communist Party members and obkom secretaries with one goal: so that there would be no idle talk about Party apparatchiks foisting it on anyone, as political scientist G. Khatsankov asserted without grounds in OGONEK.

[V. Belomarov, Lyubertsy] I work as chairman of the Party commission in the partkom of an agricultural machinery plant. I've read all the statutes and I didn't find an answer to the question of whether or not a Communist is obligated to attend meetings.

[Chuprunov] Vladimir Nikiforovich, you've hit on a very important detail that was omitted. Clearly it needs to be taken into consideration in further editions of the text.

[Belomarov] I would also like to have the status of the Party organization secretary spelled out.

[Chuprunov] In PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN suggestions were already given for primary organizations. But no sooner do the authors start to lay it out than you hear repetitions from the statutes or the platform. Here the main thing is the social defensibility of the Party worker or activist, which must be provided for by the state law on public organizations.

[Belomarov] I have another correction. Point 10 talks about the fact that to be elected to supervisory organs one needs to amass more than half the votes of the Party members participating in the meeting. At our conference only 400 out of 500 participated in the voting. The partkom secretary was nearly knocked out—he got 254 votes.

[Chuprunov] Maybe we should add: More than half the votes of the Communists participating in the elections is required?

[Belomarov] Yes. I agree, that would be more realistic.

[N. Pakhomkin, tire factory worker, Moscow] Vladimir Ivanovich, the draft gives a rather hazy formulation of the Communist Party's general goal: "proceeding from Communist perspectives..." This, I suppose, was done under pressure from those forces which would like to liquidate our Party. Let's say forthrightly that we set as our goal the building of Communist social relations. This is where we should delimit ourselves from the "democratic platform." I was at their meeting in the Sevastopolskiy Rayon building in Moscow, and I saw what those people are like. They are bringing matters to a schism, they want to slam the door so that the plaster comes raining down.

And now some rather unpleasant words. The draft talks in passing about glasnost. It needs to be more specific: to publish all stenographic records from plenums and conferences, to abolish secret letters and instructions, to eliminate the "for official use" stamp. The electoral organs should not have secrets from Communists. Am I right?

[Chuprunov] Yes.

[G. Malysheva, Moscow] I'm upset by the anti-Semitic statements. In one newspaper I read: until we run all the Jews out of the Soviet Union we will have no peace....

[Chuprunov] Galina Anatolyevna, the draft of the new Communist Party statutes state that a Communist is first and foremost an internationalist in his convictions. His membership in the Communist Party is evaluated in this light. The task is spelled out here: "to achieve the consolidation of the multi-ethnic Soviet society."

[Malysheva] One more question. The statutes don't talk about this, but it should be put in: Party leaders have high salaries. Why?

[Chuprunov] It was like this: When the salary level of Party workers was analyzed, they turned up somewhere in fortieth place overall. Who would ever take that kind



of a job? We have tried to work for a common idea, and it led to no good—people started looking for privileges.

I remember Khrushchev declared: "Salary does not take care of the Party worker." And how is it in real life? A director is chosen partkom secretary, and he loses three-quarters of his pay. I, for example, got 180 rubles for being partkom secretary, and the directory of the factory, whose plan the raykom answered for for all practical purposes, had 1,500. Is that right?

[Malysheva] Then you need to explain that to people!

[N. Tatarinov, Lyubertsy] I look favorably on the draft of the new regulations, but I don't see anything bad about the old ones either. I feel we reached a point of stagnation not because Communists' rules of life were bad. The reason lay elsewhere: individual comrades, so to speak, distorted them, set a bad example, and we saw a discrepancy between word and deed. But where's the guarantee that the new statutes won't be turned into empty paper as well? Where is the mechanism to ensure that the requirements for a Communist written in the first section are going to be observed?

[Chuprunov] Here the sole—but powerful—guarantee is the development of democracy. Again, it's not enough to formulate it verbally in the statutes; we need to put it into action, not be afraid to fight....

[Tatarinov] I did fight.... Now I'm looking for protection. The statutes say that a Communist has the right to appeal to any Party level. But you'll never get to a Central Committee member; they won't let you through the filter.

[Chuprunov] As far as I know, Central Committee members do take appointments, including the CPSU Central Committee, which never used to. In the future, I believe, it will be possible to get a system going of steady contact between CPSU members, regardless of what posts they occupy.

[V. Gryzan, honorable metallurgist, Perm] We mustn't close our eyes: the ideological opponents of the CPSU are advancing, and the gorkoms and raykoms have given up. In our shop the informals also tried to set themselves up, but what could they promise the workers? They don't have the slightest idea of how to improve life. On the squares they're in their element, shout "Down with everything!" and glory will find you. They tell you over the radio, show you on television. But not a word about the conscientious worker, as if to say, we're not interested....

I also have to say that I personally moderated five open debate type of Party meetings at the Motovilikha shops. I came out on the tribune, talked about the Central Committee's platform, about attacks on the Party, and asked: And what do you think? And we found a common language. Is anyone today stopping us from asking any questions or answering them according to our conscience? I think the CPSU has to remain militant.

[Chuprunov] I think so, too. We have to keep in mind that we are faced with winning the position of society's political vanguard in the difficult circumstances of a multiparty system. That's why we are creating fundamentally new statutes.

[N. Kruglov, Kaliningrad] Vladimir Ivanovich, all the newspapers have been writing against taking Party dues from pensioners. Only purely symbolically if they decide to. I open up the new statutes and there...

[Chuprunov] Nikolay Andreyevich, let's work this out together. What are the biggest pensions in the country right now? Up to 150 rubles. Now look at the scale: from that amount—30 kopeks in dues. Isn't that symbolic? When a pensioner works, there's a special assessment from his salary.

We discussed this question with Party veterans, and many say: no matter what, I'm not going to pay dues! But the requirements of the first point in the statutes—aren't they the same for everyone? Given economic accountability [khozraschet], it's unlikely anyone's going to do anything for us for a thank you.

[I. Gorodnitsyn, Moscow] The fourth point, about privileges, I understand.

[Chuprunov] Which privileges, Ilya Andreyevich?

[Gorodnitsyn] About the "CPSU Veteran" title. It states here that it is applied in consideration for extended activism in the Party. But if someone has simply been a member of the CPSU for 40 years—is that so little? You don't get anything?

[Chuprunov] That will be the decision of the primary party organization. If a Communist has held leading positions, has had a positive influence on the collective through his good example, he might well be given the honorable title. But not for longevity.

[Gorodnitsyn] No, I understand. A rank-and-file Communist won't get it.

[Chuprunov] Of course he will, Ilya Andreyevich! I hope you earn it.

[RT Correspondent] The time allotted for our dialogue has run out. The telephone is silent now. I, however, have two questions for you myself, Vladimir Ivanovich.

First. The administrative pyramid of the Party's structure has been shaken, to put it mildly. In its place comes the power of the Party masses, and this is reflected to a certain extent in the very architecture of the new statutes. The chapter on the CPSU's organizational structure starts with a provision about the primary organizations—the foundation of the Party—and then it goes on about rayon, city, oblast, and finally, union republic Communist parties. But why go on to devote a separate chapter to the Central Committee and its working organs? Isn't this a tribute to the old tradition of separating out, elevating everything that's above the common

man by stations? Shouldn't we be dealing in comradely fashion now with the Central Committee members and workers? Like today.

[Chuprunov] That is correct. Of course, the stereotype, the habit, was operative—there are a lot of them, unfortunately, in our Party practice. I think that before it is approved by the Congress the regulations will undergo great changes.

[RT Correspondent] There's plenty of room for them. Nothing is said, for instance, about what the primary party organization is supposed to do in production. At a press conference at the Moscow gorkom I asked this question of First Secretary Yu. Prokofyev. In reply he admitted that many Party organizations are at a loss: economic questions are no longer within their competence, discussions are going on as to whether or not to leave the enterprises. That is, the primaries need to be told precisely: here is your sphere of responsibilities.

[Chuprunov] This sphere is sketched out in the section about the Party's rayon and city links. I would say in brief: Communists in the factory must live the life of the labor collective and resolve all the most important problems they face. When they do they will deserve real authority and will take their vanguard role in society.

#### **Moscow Deputies Criticize Lithuania Policy**

90UN1763A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 15 Apr 90 p 4

["Open Letter to the Editor of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, V.P. Lysenko, and 73 Communists of Vilnius"; editorial reply]

[Text] Esteemed V.P. Lysenko!

We, the deputies of the Mossovet [Moscow City Soviet] who signed the appeal to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and Chairman of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Council V.V. Landsbergis, are totally astonished that you have deemed it possible to publish the extremely verbose response to our appeal without publishing these very brief documents themselves. Moreover, your newspaper is the organ not only of the CPSU gorkom [city committee], but also of Mossovet, and in light of this it is difficult to explain why space was found for letters from 73 admittedly very respectable communists from Vilnius, but none was available for the appeals from 73 Mossovet deputies behind whom 1.5 million Muscovites stand, even if they are not all communists.

We have no intention at all of suggesting that you wanted to hide our appeal from these and other Muscovites or to disavow the deputies by depicting them to voters as frivolous or poorly informed people.

We shall assume that you wanted to economize with our texts in expensive newspaper space.

Now we must turn to our 73 opponents.

Esteemed 73 communists from Vilnius who have abandoned the CPSU Platform!

You are mistaken if you think that our appeal was the result of our ignorance. We are well aware that events in your republic have developed according to a scenario that we know only too well. The troops seized the party Central Committee building, the gorkom building, the higher party school, and the party archives with the full knowledge of our president, and in the search for young Lithuanian men who were reluctant to join their glorious ranks, the troops broke into a psychiatric hospital and there beat up a Lithuanian militiaman. And finally we are aware that our president abused his official position by using **state** troops to safeguard the property and other interests of the CPSU; that is, **group** interests. And even private interests (considering that he is, after all, the party general secretary).

But this is not the main thing. Your long letter is merely a commentary on your basic assumption, which we cannot accept. We shall not exchange apartments with you because we do not want to leave Moscow or our motherland. The more so now, when it has placed its fate in our hands in these difficult times. But you, all you can do is propose that we "exchange apartments"! If Lithuania is your motherland then you are betraying it, and if it is not, you have no right to speak on its behalf. And it seems that the latter is the case since everything in your letter—the tone, the expressions used—smacks of impotence. You claim that "they are only 41 percent," but then in some way "they," who can scarcely organize themselves, have managed to impose their will on you. Perhaps this is because you are not really in a majority? Or is it perhaps because you feel alien among the Lithuanian people? And perhaps it is precisely because you are again calling on the "older brother" for help? But we are against this. Our troops have too often "restored justice" and "defended the gains of socialism." We well remember Hungary and Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

We believe that any people has the right to full and unconditional self-determination, and it is impermissible to lay claim to some kind of prohibitions backed by force. From the bottoms of our hearts we want you to understand this soon and unite with your people.

*People's Deputies from the Mossovet 21st Convocation (58 signatures).*

#### **From the Editorial Office**

Esteemed Comrades!

We have carefully studied your letter. We believe it is our duty, primarily to the readers of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, to explain some of the main factors involved.

You express, with some irony, astonishment that a letter from 73 deputies of the Mossovet to V. Landsbergis was not published in the newspaper. A strange astonishment

if one looks at the facts. Perhaps you offered us the document that was sent to Lithuania? No, you did not.

Some days after your action, letters started to arrive in the editorial offices from Latvia narrating your letter. But we were unable to verify them as true copies of your document. All we received was a photo copy of the newspaper EKHO LATVII for 28 March, which published the text of your letter on page one, and we reproduced it in the "Resonance" column (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 13 April). Everything we published before 13 April on the "action of the 73" was also based on materials whose authenticity was not in dispute. You therefore had no reason for astonishment or to make claims against the editor. You will find no mysteries here—both you and we are well aware of this. So our readers should also know.

You state your special rights as deputies to coverage of your activities. And here you refer to the 1.5 million Muscovites that stand behind you. We have some doubts on that score. Since your appeal, many Muscovites have been expressing their disenchantment with the results of the elections and proposing that you be recalled from the Mossovet.

Here, for example, is what V. Malikov, G. Andreyev, V. Krivitskiy, and I. Beskin write: "They did not seek out the counsel of us, the voters. Such people cannot represent us in the soviets." A. Ageyev expresses his attitude: "People should know for whom they have voted. Perhaps some of them will have a more sober attitude when they recognize the real person whom they have elected." S. Bogdanov reminds us that "in their election platforms no one said the Mossovet deputies would 'pledge themselves' to act against the decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies."

Such is the history of our publications with respect to the "action of the 73."

The second basic factor is our attitude toward the ideas you set forth in the letter addressed to V. Landsbergis. Unfortunately, a detailed review of the entire text would take up too much space. We shall limit ourselves to a brief analysis of two theses.

You support the desire of the Lithuanian people for independence and self-determination. It would be interesting to see if you could name anyone who is today speaking out against these sovereign rights for any people. In any event, the opponents of this idea are not known to us. But life is not some flight of fancy, but a concrete reality. Let us put the question directly, without political equilibration: Perhaps self-determination is absolute and unconditional? In other words, is the sudden and immediate secession of some republic from the USSR after 50 years of joint, allied existence possible without serious consequences? For this kind of extreme secession not only recarves the state system, but also turns inside out the fates of hundreds and hundreds of thousands of people. And the priority of the rights of the individual over the rights of the state is the most popular

slogan among all democrats today. Here we have a situation in which criteria such as majority-minority cannot guarantee even elementary justice. The answer in our opinion is obvious. If, of course, we remain in the sphere of politics and do not play the game of political ambition and pride.

Only those who are blind and have complexes can fail to see and understand that only persistent, calm, and well-considered decentralization of state structures leads to actual independence and real self-determination and comprehensive sovereignty for peoples and citizens. And this is exactly the spirit and the sense of the resolution adopted by the Third Extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the subsequent decisions of the president of the USSR on issues relating to Lithuania.

With no hesitation at all you proclaim the postulate that a people cannot be free if it oppresses other peoples. The statement of this is in and of itself morally irreproachable, drawn from the arsenal of eternal and noble truths. But you can hardly be so naive that you do not foresee the interpretation of this formula in the context of the situation today in Lithuania. You are undoubtedly aware of how this formula will be read by the separatists in Lithuania. What an outrage you offer to the Russian people by assigning them the role of oppressor. For many of you entered the Mossovet under the banner of "Democratic Russia." You are perfectly well aware of this, yet you have placed personal ambition to show "independent" thinking and unbounded "democracy" higher in some refined test, according to your standards.

And finally, the third basic factor is your appeal to the 73 communists from Vilnius.

We shall not touch on your tests of logic as, for example, this: "If Lithuania is your motherland you have betrayed it, and if it is not, you have no right to speak on its behalf." Any words from us would be superfluous; the readers can judge for themselves the soundness and profundity of your comprehension of what is happening in Lithuania.

But in the appeal to the communists of Vilnius you set forth your attitude toward the decisions of the president of the USSR on the normalization of the situation in the Lithuanian SSR. It is undoubtedly negative. Evidently each of you would instantaneously approve the entire package of innovations in V. Landsbergis' command and then observe the consequences with mere curiosity.

It might be possible not to attach any particular significance to that fragment of your letter, but you are deputies!

And it reveals basic defects in your managerial competence: the inability to grasp the situation in which other people find themselves, and a readiness to make decisions without predicting their social consequences. And this is another defect—derivative irresponsibility. A discovery that brings us, the voters, scant comfort.

Incidentally, this is a quite insignificant trait. The subject of the perfidy of the troops is now being actively exaggerated: My, they say, what infamy—they broke into a psychiatric hospital. And you cite this fact. But somehow you fail to draw attention to the piquant detail concerning what kind of morality the organizers of a "refuge" in a hospital must have when they accept healthy people who have broken the law. It would seem that these lines from your appeal are unworthy of attention. Indeed, in and of themselves they do not. But alarm is evoked by the fact that you, deputies of the Mossovet, can sometimes become "absent-minded" and notice only what suits your disposition. You can be myopic at will.

Workers from an enterprise in Kaunas write that all possible kinds of "informal" missionaries from Moscow and other parts of the country have now appeared in Lithuania. Some of these political pilgrims are saying that they feel better in Vilnius than in

Moscow. "Such guests have access to television, the press, and the radio..." The "letter of the 73" is also now popular in Lithuania.

While appealing to the communists of Vilnius you insist that you are informed about the situation in Lithuania. But this is what V. Nikitchenko writes from Shyaulay on behalf of 135 of his fellow citizens: "...an anticonstitutional coup has occurred in Lithuania, the Soviet order is being dismantled, and hundreds of thousands of workers are being doomed to deprivation in order to satisfy the interests of egotistical, anti-Soviet, antisocialist forces." Esteemed authors of the "letter of the 73," you are aware of this. Pardon me, but how then should we understand you?

Politics is a complex and responsible sphere that requires professionalism. The experience that is acquired during the course of an election campaign by no means always leads to real political experience. I would like you not to forget this. But the main thing is, do not forget about the affairs and concerns for which you were elected to the Mossovet.

**Liberal Democrat Chief on Party Goals**

90UN1297.1 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY  
in Russian No. 12, 24-30 Mar 90 p. 8

[Statement by Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party V. Zhirinovskiy to ARGUMENTY I FAKTY]

[Text] The publication of the platforms of informal organizations is causing new questions and suggestions. Today V. Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has the floor.

As a movement, we have existed since May 1988. As an organization, we established ourselves on 13 December 1989. Groups of like-minded people have formed in Moscow, the Volga area, the Urals, Siberia, and in the central belt of Russia. We have organizations in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Transcaucasia, the Ukraine, the Baltic republics, and other places. Our total strength is about 3,000. The First All-Union Congress will be held on 31 March 1990.

The newspaper RECH is our press organ.

Our position is based on five principles: a rule-of-law state, a multiparty system, a multisectoral economy, the presidential form of government, and the elimination of ideology from all state and public institutes.

In the sphere of state structure, we come out in favor of the primacy of law, the presidential regime, a permanent working legislature (about 700 deputies), and a cabinet of ministers subordinated to the president and consisting of no more than 20 ministries. All branch departments are to be abolished. Economic feasibility should be the foundation of territorial division as well—for example, 50 to 60 oblasts with a population of about 5 million people each. An oblast government headed by the chairman governs the oblast.

The personnel of the army, the militia, the KGB, and all law-enforcement organs are to consist of nonparty members. The army is to be recruited voluntarily, on a professional basis, and for remuneration.

The economic sphere: All types of property—private, personal, cooperative, state, and so on—enjoy similar constitutional guarantees. Land may be sold to private individuals and others without any restrictions. The entire tax system is to be arranged in the interest of producers.

We are in favor of a market economy, the complete freedom of enterprise in any form, attracting foreign capital and foreign labor to our country in a comprehensive manner, imports without restrictions, and exports of our labor and specialists abroad.

The indication of nationality in documents is to be optional.

We are in favor of abolishing all character evaluations of citizens and abolishing the registration of citizens at the place of residence as an element of feudal law. The LDP

is in favor of immediately issuing foreign passports to all citizens and in favor of abolishing exit visas.

The liberal democrats favor increasing prices for tobacco products, but also producing high-quality alcoholic beverages and beer, and reducing prices for these goods.

**'Democratic Russia' To Become New Party**

90UN1703B Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA  
in Russian 13 Apr 90 p. 1

[Zh. Avyazova report: "'Democratic Russia'—New Party"]

[Text] An event to which I was a witness last Saturday had quite a routine appearance. In a break between speeches of various speakers from the All-Union Coordinating Council of the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU" in the small auditorium of the Film Center in Krasnaya Presnya about 30 "DP" ["Democratic Platform"] sympathizers seated themselves in the back rows. They had assembled for a single purpose: to announce their withdrawal from the CPSU and the creation of an organizing committee to prepare the constituent congress of a new party, "Democratic Russia," an alternative to the CPSU.

USSR People's Deputy N.I. Travkin was unanimously elected chairman of the organizing committee of the newly born party.

The appeal to fellow citizens adopted at the meeting said: "This will be a parliamentary party built on a federative basis, which other parties and organizations of a democratic focus will be able to join within the framework of associations. The new party intends advocating decisive transition to a market economy oriented primarily toward the interests of man and seeking the emancipation of the peasantry and a sharp reduction in the machinery of government officials and also in ruinous official programs, the military included.

"We support the restoration of the statehood and sovereignty of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the reorientation of its natural-economic potential toward a rise in people's living standard. We have no need of a 'great world power' with a starving and unshod people. Our party is a party of hope, decisive change, a revival of moral principles and the granting to all of equal opportunities, challenging the forces of reaction, conservatism, and totalitarianism.

"We are motivated not by ideological confrontation but a sense of civic responsibility, compassion, and involvement, and an aspiration to solve problems, not multiply them."

As N.I. Travkin declared, this appeal contains the signatures of many people's deputies who are members of the "Democratic Russia" bloc and also members of the Inter-Regional Group of Deputies. The supporters of the



new party include USSR People's Deputies Yu.N. Afanasyev, V.A. Tikhonov, T.Kh. Gdlyan, N.V. Ivanov, and others.

It intends to publish its own newspaper and open a bank account.

How should we view this event? What many people have long been predicting has occurred.

The CPSU will now become smaller, most likely. Not much smaller, of course. Faith in the party and in its healthy forces has not dried up in the people. Millions of people are looking with hope to the upcoming 28th CPSU Congress. Our Communist Party will not go to its congress that same monolithic colossus as before, but the main thing is its renewal and necessity to the country.

Far from everyone in the "Democratic Platform" itself has ventured to break with the CPSU unconditionally. The moderate supporters of the "Democratic Platform" are reluctant to deepen the divide running between them and "solid" communists to the point of an impassable gulf.

#### 'Open Letter', Democratic Platform Viewed

90UN1670C Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by T. Vasilyeva, secretary of the Oktyabrskiy CPSU Raykom, communist: "We Cannot Separate From Ourselves!"]

[Text] The open letter from the CPSU Central Committee to Communists gives us pause. Perhaps someone out of habit (I know that there is no dearth of such "clever people") has obediently begun to draw up tables to keep track of "renegades" who have been expelled from the CPSU. I have already begun to think: They are suggesting that we separate from those who have split off and consolidate on the basis of principles. As a good basis for consolidation of the party and the people at the beginning of the letter they list many things with which I undoubtedly agree but I would like something to be clarified. For example, what does "the creation of worthy living conditions for the people" mean? Who will create them? One might think that the party is beyond the people, an outside organization or something. Some kind of "procurer and creator" of material and spiritual goods, the people's benefactor.

I think the only basis there can be either for consolidation or for any fundamental separation is a clarification of what we are as the Communist Party.

I think the CPSU is a party of people who think alike. Does this mean they think the same things? By no means. This means that we are only part of the people, a party of citizens who are capable of thinking dialectically and, consequently, of acting consciously and not on the basis of dogmatic prescriptions, appeals, and slogans, regardless of how attractive they may be.

A party in which people respond to the bidding of authority whoever it may be—the founder of Marxism-Leninism, the general secretary, the first secretary of the obkom [oblast party committee] or gorkom [city party committee], the people's deputy who has gained universal popularity, someone who fights against the mafia—is not a communist party.

When you act merely by following the authorities you always have a chance of ending up somewhere other than where they are calling you—having either distorted or incorrectly understood what they have said or simply because the idol deliberately or unintentionally is lured away, paying a generous tribute to populism and political ambition.

A communist is a person who works with his "consciousness in gear" and this means that he is capable of figuring out for himself what is true and what is false, where there is political possibility, and where there is political helplessness.

Of course, this is difficult. It is not without reason that V.I. Lenin said: "One can become a communist only after he enriches his memory with a knowledge of all the wealth that has been produced by mankind." I am in favor of this definition, it is valid for all time.

Yes, a communist is a person with a memory which must be enriched with knowledge. And we present-day Communists have in our memory an immense history that is heroic and tragic at the same time. Yes, there is blood, repressions, degeneration of the party into Stalinism, and the lagging behind modern civilization. But it also includes our spirituality, our roots, and the lives of our ancestors, our fathers and our mothers—the good which always existed in spite of the Stalinist dictatorship and the party degenerates, in spite of the repressions and the bureaucratic pressure.

What immense wealth has been left to us! It includes our literature with its constellation of names: A.A. Akhmatova, M.A. Sholokhov, B.L. Pasternak, M.A. Bulgakov, and A.P. Platonov, and it includes the music of S.S. Prokofyev and D.D. Shostakovich. It includes our museums and monuments! And how does one place a value on the spiritual wealth of the great national achievement of the Great Patriotic War and the heroic postwar restoration of the country from ruins!

Certain champions of perestroika, those same leaders of the Democratic Platform, suggest that we separate from the past, shake off the burden of the past—and then, they say, the party will be able to move more easily and freely. No, then it will not be a party of communists but a party of "ideological vagrants." I do not want to be in such a party. I must and am prepared to take on the entire burden of its mistakes, crimes, and degeneracy, but also to be nourished by all the moral and spiritual wealth that exists in our history. I am a person, not a "tumbleweed." I shall bear that burden. I shall remember it, and, because of the memory of this past and its inseparability



from myself, I shall have a chance to remain a person and not repeat the tragic pages in the new history that is already my own.

This is how I understand the responsibility of a Communist.

People who think that by shaking off and renouncing the past they will become free and irreproachable are deceiving themselves. They will simply cease to be people. And another thing. To be a person with "awareness in gear" means that the horizons of your interests are not limited to the immediate space, to a narrow framework (it does not matter which—temporal or spatial).

If when thinking and acting you see only your own separate little patch of land (rayon, city, or even republic or country) you are not insured against mistakes and "straying from the path." Is this not what our upstart patriots, from both the cities and the republics, do?

If when making a decision you think only about the present day (why think about what comes next—many things could happen in this amount of time), you are also acting without complete awareness or responsibility. Is this not the source of today's ecological problems in both the economic and the spiritual spheres.

And only a party of such dialectically thinking and acting people who are not separated from the sufferings, concerns, and affairs of the people can call itself communist. I am convinced that herein lies the essence and not in any schemes for construction, selection, structures, hierarchy, or other administrative-bureaucratic constructs.

Therefore when the leaders of the Democratic Platform and those who respond to their appeals speak about updating the mechanisms and principles of party construction I understand and almost completely share their view. But sometimes Afanasyev, Gdlyan, Travkin, and others say that proponents of the Democratic Platform should "sever the umbilical cord tying them to the CPSU" because it is communist (!). I am fundamentally against them. As a person, I must honestly admit, who has examined her conscience and become a Communist—in essence!—quite recently (although I have been in the CPSU for almost 20 years), I accept that they, unconsciously, their vision impaired by the magic of words, renounce communism, but really they are renouncing only that which is ascribed to it, they are disowning many mistakes, sometimes very, very serious ones, of the Communist Party.

If this is so they could have sympathized and tried to help straighten things out. But if only they had not made such a dispassionate (and, I think, thoughtless and irresponsible) renunciation of the party as a whole, their own past. And if only there had not been such an assured (here I think they were trying on or already wearing their new "blindfold") declaration that they were now defined as social-democrats!

I have nothing against social democracy. We have much to learn from it. But simply to make an exact copy of it and try to superimpose it on ourselves—no way! In what way is this better than marching in step to the command of the "leader and guide" through a narrow ideological corridor toward the bright future of "communism," in the form of sausages and video equipment from the horn of plenty.

In my opinion, if the dogmatists from the OFT [United Workers Front] suggest we go farther along this corridor (well, perhaps it is a little wider), trying merely to touch up and add to the "picture" of communism, the leaders of the Democratic Platform suggest coming out of the corridor, having cast off the tired old pictures, and...entering another corridor—apparently a very wide one (boundless democracy). Incidentally, in terms of the methods they are actually using today we can see that this too is an illusion. Suffice it to recall the harsh resolutions—instructions to deputies for the Democratic Platform concerning their voting in the soviets or the delegates at the rayon party conferences. Well, the main thing is that without their "awareness in gear" they might not notice that the corridor proposed by the Democratic Platform is beginning to turn in the opposite direction and is leading to another blind alley.

So is it worthwhile to travel any farther down these corridors? Perhaps it would be better to get out of them and see that all around us and far into the future there are not simply "pictures" but a real, diverse, and, today, very difficult life. Perhaps we should learn to think independently, without looking to the authorities, and become real communists. After all, communism is not a welfare system. It is a way of life, a world view. And if you share it you are not afraid of any "market laws," any "threats of presidential dictatorship," you do not need any "valuable pointers" from the Central Committee, obkom, raykom, and so forth. You will figure them out for yourself. When figuring them out each day you will be acting and you will become a real thinking and acting person. And this is ultimately the most important thing!

And now let us think: Should we reject communism or should we finally become really thinking communists.

### **Draft Program for Russian Communist Party Discussed**

90UN1413C Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 90 p 2

[Action Committee Press Group report on debate on draft theses of Program for Revival of the Russian Communist Party]

### **[Text] Are We Living in a Socialist Country?**

You have just read the theses for the Program for a Revival of the Russian Communist Party on Leninist principles. With some propositions you probably agreed right away, others gave rise to misgivings, yet others, a desire to argue or obtain additional clarification.

Well, this is natural. This was precisely the attitude toward the draft document of members of the action committee when the compilers—the working group headed by M.V. Popov, professor at Leningrad State University—proposed that discussion start with Section II: "The Communist Party in a Socialist Country"....

Why did the discussion start with this subject? The point is that Section I, devoted to the basic propositions of the development of socialism, had been closely studied by the action committee weeks earlier, and slight changes and additions had been adopted with common consent. However, had a majority of those present found it necessary to subject it to a repeat collective analysis, this would have been done.

After Yu.G. Terentyev, secretary of the "Arsenal" Association Party Committee, presiding, had ascertained the attitude of the participants in the meeting (there were 32 of them) toward this procedural point, the discussion immediately assumed the nature of a clash of various opinions.

R.V. Degtyareva, head of the Polytechnical Institute History Department, expressed doubt, for example, as to the soundness of the very title of Section II. We should consider, she said, that many of our compatriots have believed the commentators and speakers who do not consider the Russian Federation (or the Soviet Union as a whole) a socialist country. In order not to frighten away such people from the cause of a revival of the Russian Communist Party, Prof R.V. Degtyareva proposed that the section be headed differently: "The Communist Party... Under the Conditions of Perestroika".

However, her thoughts were not supported. Not, of course, because any member of the action committee denied the very fact of all-union confusion in people's minds on the question of socialism. The reason lay elsewhere. In the fact that the majority of participants in the discussion considers it impermissible in principle to accommodate to some people's prejudices, of whatever kind, and thereby contribute to strengthening them.

The opinion, according to which it would be expedient to leave the former title of the section as it was inasmuch as we live, for all that, in a socialist country—a country in which a socialist revolution was accomplished and capitalism has not been restored, prevailed. And the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], as is known, still fully fits such a definition.

There was also an objection to the use in the documents of the action committee of such a concept as "perestroika."

V.P. Knodel, deputy chief of the "Signal" Association Central Design Office and the winner of the USSR State Prize, was particularly energetic in this connection. While opposed to any stagnation and, even more, movement backward—toward capitalism—he emphasized that we advocate the progressive development of socialism as far as its conversion into the highest phase

of communism. And the term "perestroika" is unsuitable here. Why? Because it clouds the processes occurring in society. It is not fortuitous, after all, that everyone in our country is "for perestroika," seemingly—both those who are for the development of socialism and those who are for a restoration of capitalism. Such rubber concepts are not for those who want a revival of the Russian Communist Party on Leninist principles.

Such reasoning appeared convincing to the members of the action committee.

#### Several Working Class Parties or Just One?

The reader will easily have guessed that it is a question here merely of individual episodes of the discussion. An entire issue of the newspaper would not have been enough for it to have been reproduced in full. The discussion lasted more than six hours, after all.

The argument over the title of Section II—a purely formal argument, seemingly—led its participants to a far from formal question: whether we are living in a socialist or nonsocialist country. It is easy to imagine how much more difficult it was to overcome the difference of opinions on another problem, namely, whether the RSFSR Communist Party should be seen as a party of the working class expressing the interests of the majority of the working people. Or is it meaningless to emphasize that this is a party of the working class if it intends to express and realize the interests of all honest workers?

V.I. Kuzmenko, deputy secretary of the "Rossiya" Association Party Committee, frankly set forth his misgivings. From his viewpoint, it makes no sense to insist that the Russian Communist Party unfailingly be a party of the working class. It is well known that members of the CPSU united by the so-called "Democratic Platform" are avowedly and consciously heading for a split. It could perfectly easily happen that with their "ultra-democratic" phrases they will succeed in attracting a considerable number of workers to their ranks. The workers would then have a party which has declared the teaching of K. Marx and V.I. Lenin on the historic mission of the working class to be outdated dogma. So the workers could have several parties. And all would, possibly, call themselves communist, pursuing a far from identical policy here.

Proceeding from these considerations, V.I. Kuzmenko proposed that we confine ourselves to a definition of the Russian Communist Party as a community or alliance of fellow thinkers advocating the development of socialism.

S.S. Samryakov, a propaganda worker well known at the "Bolshevik" Plant, took issue with him. He observed that describing a revived Russian Communist Party simply as an association of people of a socialist orientation would be wrong for many reasons. First, a party which is called communist cannot allow itself to abandon its ultimate goal—full communism. Second, what kind of communist party is it which maintains a shameful silence about its social foundation—the working class? Third, it is not enough for a Leninist-type party that it be composed of

fellow thinkers, it is necessary that these fellow thinkers be in addition "fellow workers" consciously and concertedly subordinating their wishes and activity to the common goal.

D.Z. Mutagirov, professor at Leningrad State University, was interested in V.I. Kuzmenko's idea concerning the prospect of the emergence of several parties which the workers could follow. Yes, such a development of events, he observed, cannot be ruled out. But this by no means signifies that the working class of one and the same country could have several communist parties. Whatever they called themselves and regardless of the fact that their members consider themselves communists, objectively, for all that, only one single party would be communist, and it alone would be the party of the working class. This would be the political organization which combined scientific socialism with the practical life of the workers and the peasants and intellectuals operating in alliance with them.

The majority of members of the action committee agreed that attaching the affiliation of the revived Russian Communist Party to the progressive, most conscious part of the working class was absolutely essential.

This same thought was also supported by V.A. Tyulkin, secretary of the "Avangard" Association Party Committee. At the same time, however, despite the general support, he insisted on the Russian Communist Party being described as a party of the working class which expresses and upholds the fundamental interests of the majority of the working people. This is necessary, V.A. Tyulkin said, not only to emphasize the concurrence of the needs and aspirations of the workers and those of the peasants and the people's intelligentsia. It is important also to make it understood that we wish to revive the Russian Communist Party while in no way dogmatizing the class approach, but not abandoning the class approach altogether either.

V.A. Tyulkin's considerations served as a boost to the attempt to include among the necessary definitions of the RSFSR Communist Party a characterization which reflects its internal development in line with the surmounting in society of social inequality and the social injustice connected therewith.

As a result of the joint quest it was decided to insert in the draft theses of the Program for a Revival of the Russian Communist Party a proposition concerning the fact that the Russian Communist Party will itself gradually become a classless public organization as social uniformity is achieved and the differences between classes are overcome.

#### **All-Russia Conference or Constituent Congress?**

Since LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA published, on 10 February, the declaration of the action committee entitled "Against Stagnation and Conservatism," readers have probably learned that the people who adopted this document advocate not the convening of an all-Russia conference but the preparation of a constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party.

On the other hand, the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform and now the decision of the March Central Committee Plenum envisage a different solution of the question: election of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress; to consider those elected from RSFSR party organizations simultaneously delegates to a Russian conference. To formulate there a common position, to be presented at the 28th CPSU Congress.

It is this intention which the action committee sees as a method of delaying the revival of the Russian Communist Party on a Leninist basis. What is the reason for this point of view? One reason was adduced by V.A. Levchenko, head of a department of the Timber, Paper and Wood-Processing Industry Union Oblast Committee. Under conditions where the CPSU is threatened by division into several parties, he argued, any attempt to defer or postpone to an indefinite future the convening of a constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party is tantamount to bringing closer the political disintegration of the CPSU.

The holding of an all-Russia conference instead of a constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party, V.A. Levchenko continued, is also a method, if not of burying the idea of a revival of the Russian Communist Party altogether, then, at least, of making its realization considerably more difficult. After all, everyone understands that an all-Russia conference could not have the authority to establish a republic party organization. Nor would it be capable of stopping a split in the CPSU, which, to judge by everything, is greatly desired by the "Democratic Platform" supporters and which, it is to be hoped, is by no means the desire of the party Central Committee. In any event, the draft Central Committee Platform speaks of the need for unity in the CPSU ranks. We agree. And under present conditions the revival of the Russian Communist Party on a Leninist basis prior to the convening of the 28th CPSU Congress is the paramount and decisive condition of the preservation of a united CPSU as a party of scientific socialism, and not a parliamentary talking-shop.

K.V. Fedotov, longshoreman of the Leningrad Commercial Sea Port, who has invariably participated actively in the action committee's discussion of documents, called attention to the need for it to be specially explained why the holding of an Russian Communist Party congress should precede the 28th CPSU Congress. It is very important, he emphasized, that the supporters of a revival of the Russian Communist Party on a Leninist basis clearly recognize that the holding of an Russian Communist Party congress would enable the communists of the Russian Federation to go to the 28th CPSU Congress organizationally and ideologically united. Only in this case could they exert at the all-party congress an influence corresponding to the importance, role, and responsibility of our republic for the fate of the whole country. Any other possibility would under present conditions mean not the progressive development of the CPSU but the danger of its degeneration into a social democratic party of a reformist persuasion.

In connection with the formulation of the question of the danger of the CPSU's degeneration into a reformist social democratic party Yu.G. Terentyev, presiding, deemed it necessary to specially explain what was meant. We should in no event, he declared, enter into an aggressive confrontation with the social democrats. But cooperating with them where there is a concurrence of positions is one thing, converting the CPSU into a parliamentary-type social democratic party in the spirit of the "Democratic Platform" is quite another. Communists can on this score have only one opinion: Such a "renewal" of the CPSU would be not a renewal but a movement backward, even were the interregionals to call this movement "left," "radical" and "progressive" a billion times over.

Lecturer Ye.G. Kuznetsov, member of the Leningrad State University Party Committee, observed regarding the habit of certain figures of declaring themselves "left," "radical," and "progressive," and their opponents, "right," "conservative," and "reactionary": This is not that naive and innocent a form of self-praise as might at first sight appear. It conceals a far-reaching intention to disorient people, confuse them, and substitute "right" for "left" in politics, and capitalism for socialism in economics. For this reason it needs to be said plainly when the draft of the revival of the Russian Communist Party is being drawn up: Conversion of the CPSU into a social democratic parliamentary party is not left but reactionary radicalism of the first order, if one proceeds from its objective content, not from its desire to appear "left" and "progressive."

Supporting the opinions of other members of the action committee, N.F. Minayev, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems, proposed inclusion in the document under discussion of the following proposition: The degeneration of the Communist Party into a social democratic party under the conditions of the USSR would be the equivalent of relegating to the background the interests of the majority of working people, and in the political-economic respect such a policy is one of restoring capitalism in a socialist country.

As the reader has been able to see for himself, all these thoughts were, with the general consent of the members of the action committee, reflected in the third thesis of the section "Strategy and Tactics of the Revival of the Russian Communist Party Within the CPSU".

*Action Committee Press Group*

#### **Draft Plan for Forming Russian Communist Party Assailed**

90UN1418A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 23 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by S. Petrov, secretary of the Leningrad City CPSU Committee: "Revival or Return?"]

[Text] A Russian Communist Party—is it to be or not to be? Just a year or so ago this question was eliciting an

ambivalent response: It had both supporters and opponents. But today reality itself is dictating to us the sole correct answer: A republic Communist Party (RAP) is essential. And the first notable step has essentially already been taken—the draft theses "Program of the Revival of the Russian Communist Party" have been promulgated. There is finally an opportunity to evaluate the more or less tangible parameters of the new party structure, its theoretical foundation, and the prospects of its formation which have been proposed. It is material that communists may correlate and compare in an elementary manner documents which have been put forward for discussion: the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform, the Democratic Platform of the CPSU, and the draft Program of the Revival of the Russian Communist Party.

I will say right away that upon familiarization with the wording of the draft Program of the Revival of the Russian Communist Party, which was prepared, as I understand it, by quite a small group of people, I experienced a feeling of profound disappointment and distress. I will explain why.

One notices primarily the weakness and, ultimately, the bankruptcy of the program's theoretical foundation. In addition, it is my profound belief that the creators of the draft program proceeded from fundamentally erroneous evaluations of the state of our society. Typical of it is the erroneousness of ideas concerning the present-day socio-class structure of society and a certain extra-historical method in the evaluations and characterizations offered by the authors.

We could also speak of a patina of dogmatism, which is expressed in making the class approach absolute and in the maladroit use of this powerful methodological instrument. What was justified under the conditions of concealed civil war and brutal class confrontation is hardly unreservedly acceptable for an exhaustive explanation of today's situation. Despite my absolutely sincere respect for people of the worker profession, I believe that considering merely the working class the exponent of progressive social trends and virtually the sole guarantor of the realization of interests common to all mankind is absolutely invalid.

In addition, the theses which are being discussed orient the communists toward a persistent search for the class enemy in the person of the "socialist bourgeois" and toward struggle against some "petty bourgeois character". In short, the draft theses manifestly emphasize social confrontation, which is akin to the class hysteria of a certain period of our history, which, in my view, is under today's conditions manifestly politically erroneous and essentially destructive.

The key section, it would seem, "Basic Concepts of the Development of Socialism," simply lacks a concept. Many arguments are constructed per the rule of contraries, where it says what needs to be abandoned and against what and against whom it is necessary to fight to the death, but does



not formulate toward what and by which paths it is ultimately necessary to proceed. The authors evidently believe that it is clear to everyone what communism is and that it is sufficient to confine discussion of the party's aims to a mention of this word and the proposal for a cleansing thereof of the "birthmarks" of capitalism.

The way out of the crisis, however, in which our society finds itself today is seen (despite a certain camouflage in verbal clothing) in a return to the dictatorship of the proletariat and its party. And this dictatorship, what is more, would be exercised by the objectively progressive class in the interests of all the other nonprogressive and nonleading classes, whether they like it or not. Under the conditions of today's democratization of political life such an approach is utopian.

The second section of the draft program, which, it seems to me, is of the greatest interest, makes an attempt to outline the basic contours of a party in revival, substantiate its ideological orientation and stipulate its organizational principles.

I will say right away that the attempt was unsuccessful for behind the excessive unwieldiness of the words and the wholly unwarranted emotionalism, mistaken views and evaluations and, consequently, mistaken proposals reveal themselves (in some places directly, in some places between the lines).

Speculating on individual incontestable truths and popular slogans and utilizing as the last argument the authority of V.I. Lenin, the authors of the draft essentially call on us to create a socially inferior organization which is militant in its pseudo-class implacability, a "combat" organization virtually, and which not only by its activity but even by the mere fact of its existence in the proposed parameters would inevitably be a brake on our social progress and a brake on perestroika and, what is particularly distressing to realize, a further factor stimulating social infelicity.

Incidentally, it is not fortuitously that I have mentioned the speculative use of Lenin's ideas inappropriate to the era. It is somewhat embarrassing to remind the respectable social scientists who participated in the elaboration of the draft theses that "tearing" from the specific-historical context V.I. Lenin's proposals based on an analysis of perfectly particular realities of the political life of the start of the 1920's is not simply wrong but, what is most important, unproductive....

One is astonished at the unceremoniousness with which the theses state that a party which is yet to be created has the position of governing party.

It is evidently worth reiterating that we have to struggle again and again, for this right and earn it before the people, under conditions of political pluralism even more. Incidentally, one has the impression that the authors see no difference in whether there is political pluralism or not, there is not a word about this. Yet it is obvious that the revival and

existence of the Russian Communist Party became necessary largely in consequence of the multiparty system which is objectively taking shape.

And what is the value of the idea contained in the theses of regulation of the social composition of the party and its executive authorities as a guarantee of its "communist character"? We have already "gone through" this, as they say, and are today paying to a considerable extent for the formal-questionnaire approach to replenishment of the CPSU. Incidentally, in this same clause one is nonplused by a passage concerning the fact that there should be among the party authorities "a sufficient number of intellectuals cognizant of their responsibility to the people". The workers and peasants, consequently, are the people, but the intelligentsia is not the people. Who is it then?

I could continue the enumeration of standpoints on which I have a view which differs appreciably from the propositions of the draft program. However, enough has been said, most likely.

My opponents may object: The proposed draft is only the first step; it could not be immaculate. However, it is, after all, a question not of individual parts left unfinished and peccadilloes of a purely editing nature, but of fundamentally incorrect positions, on which this document is based. It is this fact which forces me to make an immediate evaluation. In my view, the document offered for Leningraders' attention is fundamentally flawed: theoretically bankrupt, practically unconstructive, and, unfortunately, objectively detracting from a very sound idea—that of a revival of the Russian Communist Party on the principles of democracy.

The draft program was published under the motto "For Justice, Progress, and Concord". However, these goals, the height of attractiveness, could prove unattainable if the Russian Communist Party is created on the same mistaken principles contained in the draft program of its revival. And in this case there would shortly result, instead of a revival, a return—a return to that which we are abandoning—and ultimately the creation not a party of the future, but a party of the past.

### Russian Party Initiating Congress Ends

90UN1751C Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Acknowledging the Factual Existence": The Initiating Congress of the Russian Communist Party Has Completed Its Work"]

[Text] The initiating congress of the Russian Communist Party within the CPSU completed its work on Sunday in the House of Political Education. Its more than 600 participants represented almost 1.5 million Communists from dozens of krais, oblasts, and autonomous republics of the RSFSR.

Over the course of two days at the congress there was heated discussion concerning the problems of CPSU

development, Russian economics and culture, and organizational issues. The draft of the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress underwent a careful and critical analysis.

The congress adopted a resolution acknowledging the factual existence of a Russian Communist Party requiring organizational formation before the beginning of the work of the 28th CPSU Congress. The congress constituted its work as the first stage of a constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party.

An organizational bureau and a secretariat were elected to prepare the second stage of establishing the Russian Communist Party. According to the congress's participants, the organizational formation of the Russian Communist Party could occur either at the Russian party conference designated for June or at a special conference in Leningrad.

In its resolution "On the Economic Situation in Russia," the congress spoke out against transferring the economy over to planned-market relations because they endanger socialism and the sovereignty of the state and they threaten the CPSU with certain discrimination in the eyes of the people. In particular, the congress appealed to the Communist people's deputies of the RSFSR with a request that at the upcoming First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies they introduce a draft bill suspending the action of the law "On Property" on the territory of the RSFSR until an all-republic referendum can be conducted on this issue.

Pickers were outside the House of Political Education during the two days of the congress' work. They believed that its participants were trying to return the country to pre-perestroika times.

### Russian Party Start Up Congress Criticized

90UN1751E Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by A. Ozhegov: "No Alternative"; published under the rubric "Notes From the Last Row"]

[Text] V.A. Tyulkin, chairman of the initiating congress and secretary of the party committee of the "Avangard" Scientific Production Association, declared that moment—2050 on 21 April—historic. The deputies got up from their seats and simultaneously began to applaud the resolution: "To acknowledge the factual existence of a Russian Communist Party within the CPSU requiring the completion of organizational formation before the 28th CPSU Congress."

It probably would not be worth directing the reader's attention to the logical discrepancy in the text of a de facto existing party requiring de jure, at least, organizational formation. Proceeding, let us say, from the norms of currently existing party rules and the laws of a rule-of-law state. However, on the next day during a break in the heated debates a colleague congratulated

me, not without a smile, on "membership in the Russian Communist Party." I began to object, but he immediately presented proof. He cited a document from the congress from which it followed that all Communists who are registered with party organizations existing on the territory of the RSFSR are, with no exception, members of a single party collective of the Russian Communist Party within the CPSU. Apparently this was that situation which is so graphically described in the popular saying, "They married me off without me."

Let us suppose that the party organizations which have sent their representatives to the congress agree completely with such a decision. But do the delegates have the right to thrust it on millions of other Communists whose envoys were not even at the congress? And this has happened in our times, so lavish with pluralism and polarity of judgments concerning the way to renew Russia!

You will agree that to "join the ranks" of a "factually existing" Russian Communist Party at one's free will, one should at least share the position of the platform of the initiating committee on preparations for the constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party. A draft of the platform was published in our newspaper and evoked a far from uniform reaction. I will not quote the mail to the editor. Evaluations such as "Stalinist nostalgia," "a document of the past," and "a publication of the OFT [United Workers Front]" were not at all a rarity in the readers' letters. There are also supporters of the platform who see in it "a renaissance of socialism."

The opinions of the Communists most often split over the issue of the radicalization of economic reforms and the introduction of a market. A very significant fact: On the eve of the initiating congress, the Communists of the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee Planning Commission resolved by a majority of votes to consider the urgent transition of the national economy of Leningrad to regulated market relations to be their most important task and that there was no real alternative.

Let us note that this is the decision of professional, highly competent specialists who have called upon all of the city's Communists to support in every possible way the course of the president of the USSR toward radicalization of economic reform.

But at the initiating congress this radicalization was, in plain terms, called capitalization and "a market economy of classic capitalism." Taking the floor during the debates, V.V. Gorbachev, deputy chief editor of the journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, said those "at the top" do not mention capitalization to the citizens only so that we will not go into a state of shock.

The initiating congress rejected "shock therapy" as a means of healing Russia because it will lead to mass unemployment, a rise in prices, and stratification of society "into the super rich and the super poor." None of the delegates even mentioned that the introduction of a market is a precondition for real social protection for



needy citizens. That did not blend with the congress's scenario. Furthermore several speakers demanded that the Laws on Land and Property passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet be declared unconstitutional and unfaithful to the country's social system. True, the proposal to introduce this amendment to the congress's resolution did not pass.

Time will show whether this congress will become historic. It will also tell us whether the Russian Communist Party with such a platform will only "exist factually," as the congress has noted, or whether it will receive the public recognition of the millions of Communists and citizens of Russia.

### Participants View Russian Party Congress

90UN1751D Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 3

[Report on comments by participants in the Russian Communist Party Initiating Congress by I. Losev published under the rubric "In and Around the Meeting Hall": "Were Your Expectations Met?"]

[Text] Our correspondent asked several participants of the [Russian Communist Party Initiating] Congress if their expectations were met.

Volkov, V.I., journalist, deputy of the Baumanskiy Rayon Soviet of Moscow, War Invalid Group I, and secretary of the Russian Communist Party organizational bureau for ties with soldier-internationalists:

"The Communists who sent me to the congress were in favor of establishing a Russian Communist Party within the CPSU as quickly as possible and for electing the party's authorities at the second stage. And this is what I voted for. True, I was hoping that a declaration would be adopted as well, but the main thing was done and now we have to work to arrive at the second stage of the initiating congress with a program and the rules of a Russian Communist Party within the CPSU, discuss them, and adopt an organized structure for presentation at the CPSU Congress."

V. M. Pashchenko, secretary of the party committee of the "Yastrebovskiy" sovkhoz [state farm] of Achinskiy Rayon in Krasnoyarsk Kray and member of the Russian Communist Party organizational bureau:

"I came here with one commission from the Communists—do not allow the CPSU to split. Our Communists are very worried about the fate of the party, although they do not support the line of M.S. Gorbachev in everything.

"The congress has left a good impression on me. I agree completely with the resolution that was adopted. True, I have some doubts about its implementation—I do not want our good beginning to come to nothing. But I very much want there to be a Russian Communist Party. I have great hopes for a Russian Communist Party: The leading role of the workers should be apparent in it, and

then the Russian Communist Party will be a vanguard. In my opinion a party common to the whole people is impossible in principle."

Tyulkin, V.A., secretary of the party committee of the "Avangard" Association, member of the committee to prepare for the Russian party conference under the CPSU Central Committee, and secretary of the Russian Communist Party organizational bureau:

"On the whole my hopes for the congress have been justified: Communists have managed to assemble despite any 'obstacles.' We have made very specific steps toward organizational establishment of the Russian Communists. And we have avoided the main danger—a split—although there were difficult moments in the work of the congress, for instance when a portion of the delegates demanded immediate completion of the organizational establishment of the Russian Communist Party without the preparations necessary for it.

"Now we must regulate the careful work of the organizational bureau, because it is made up of more than 100 people representing practically all the regions of Russia; we must establish ties with the CPSU Central Committee and, naturally, prepare for the second stage of our congress."

During the Russian Communist Party Initiating Congress people with flags and placards on their chests appeared in front of the building of the House of Political Education from time to time. Our newspaper has already reported about this. Here is a dialogue that took place between our correspondent and a person holding in his hands... an Andreyevskiy national ensign of the Russian Navy.

Rodin, Aleksandr Igorevich—deputy of the Leningrad Soviet from the 393d District.

[Losev] What is the purpose of your appearance here?

[Rodin] We believe that the split in the CPSU along national lines that is taking place here, that is to say the creation of an independent communist party outside the CPSU...

[Losev] Wait, the congress passed a resolution just yesterday which stresses "a Russian Communist Party within the CPSU," and you speak of a split?

[Rodin] I do not see the necessity of such a division, and in general I am against communist ideology. In principle. We believe that the ideology of communism is terrible because of its inhumanity.

[Losev] What is your attitude toward the formation of factions in the Leningrad Soviet?

[Rodin] I am comfortable with it, as with any natural process, although I myself am not a member of any faction.

[Losev] Why then do you resent the attempt by the Russian Communists to establish themselves organizationally inside the CPSU when you are indifferent to factions in the Leningrad Soviet? Or, as a democrat, do you refuse people whom you do not regard as democrats the right to their own path?

[Rodin] Not at all. We are only expressing our attitude toward communist ideology as such. We are opposed to it in general.

[Losev] Are there many like you in the new Leningrad Soviet?

[Rodin] I believe that one-third of the deputies take an anticommunist position today. We are for soviets without Communists!

### Selection of Communist Party Congress Delegates Viewed

90UN1683A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 17 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by V. Korneyev, first secretary of the Kalininskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, under the rubric "Party Tribune: We are Electing Delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress": "Plus a Mechanism for Implementing It"]

[Text] So how are we electing delegates to the upcoming CPSU congress? It is good that the freedom to make the final decisions on the mechanism of elections at the local level and in the rayons has been included in a CPSU Central Committee plenum decree on this issue. To nominate candidates for delegate from each organization or from a "group"; to conduct single-seat or multiseat elections; to nominate any member of the CPSU or only those who are on the party register in the rayon—the communists themselves have decided all these things according to their specific character and their own considerations.

Our party organization began the search for the best variant specifically for Kalininskiy Rayon long before the plenum decree. In November-December the communists of all the local organization spoke out only for direct, secret, and multicandidate elections. In February the raykom [rayon party committee] decided at an enlarged plenum that elections in single-seat districts suited us best of all. Why single-seat specifically? Of course there were supporters in the rayon of the multiseat option, and they defended their point of view in the course of discussions at the plenum as well. But their opinion did not prevail, and the majority expressed the fear, perfectly justified in my view, that elections in a united single-seat district-rayon did not exclude the possibility (and a very significant one) that a decision would be made mechanically, based on purely external indications.

Judge for yourself. Nine seats in a rayon means, as the practice of multicandidate elections shows, a minimum of 90 aspirants. Is it possible for each of them to speak at almost 300 enterprises and meet with 35,000 communists? That is physically impossible. And that means that

an election in such an event will have an unmotivated nature: Leave nine last names and strike off 81.

The deliberateness of the decision is 10 times greater in a single-seat district, and as a result we stopped there. We stopped, but the search for the best ruling on this was not ended.

The goal was to design as carefully as possible the mechanism itself for elections. It only seems that the very idea of elections is most important for revealing the will of each member of the CPSU. Yes, direct, secret, and multicandidate are good. But nonetheless this is only one of the conditions according to which that will might be revealed. And sad experience shows that an excellent idea without a well-considered mechanism for implementing it has a good chance of not being implemented. We can no longer permit ourselves such a luxury because our time limit is up. The upcoming congress has been called in order to make our party and its Central Committee a united whole. To remove that huge gap which was a reality in the seventies to the beginning of the eighties and which even today has for the most part not been removed. It is just for this reason that we, having taken the idea of single-seat districts for our foundation, have begun to think about how to form them so that the conditions in which each party organization of the district finds itself are as equal as possible.

We have had to do considerable work—the local organizations showed great interest in it. Judge for yourself how we could dismiss the arguments of many party organizations who found themselves in the same district with such giants as MEI [Moscow Power Engineering Institute] (2,500 communists) or "Hammer and Sickle" (2,000). No, before, when there were no such elections, a district comprised in this fashion hardly roused censure. Today everything is different. Having the right to nominate and campaign, having a chance for the victory of one's candidate for deputy by virtue of his personal qualities, everyone from the beginning wanted more or less equal conditions for the contest. And as a result the formation of districts turned out in essence to be a most complex and laborious affair. After a whole series of decisions and changes of mind by the rayon's council of secretaries, we chose the following composition of the districts at an enlarged plenum on 29 March:

MEI, "Hammer and Sickle," and two other large party organizations were united into a two-seat district, equalizing to a maximum degree the aspirants' chances for victory.

Three other single-seat electoral districts were formed from representatives of science—higher educational institutions, NPO's [scientific production associations], and NII's [scientific research institutes].

Enterprises and organizations related to the rayon's infrastructure (I have in mind territorial party organizations, schools, medicine, the militia, the courts, and the procuracy) were united into their own single-seat district.

And more or less equivalent organizations of industry, construction, administration, etc. were united into three remaining single-seat districts.

In addition to forming the districts, the plenum was required to make a fundamental decision on one more issue: Who can nominate his candidate and whom can we elect as a delegate? The plenum voted for nomination of a candidate for delegate from each local organization or, at their wish, from a "group" of local organizations. And we decided to nominate only communists of our own rayon.

And immediately after the plenum, beginning 31 March, active nomination began. Of 67 people nominated by party organizations with the rights of local organizations, 29 communists continue to carry on the campaign today. Such a winnowing-out of aspirants took place for the most part at the large party organizations where it is significantly more difficult to conduct a campaign at the first stage of the elections. And that is understandable. For instance, before V. Knizhnikov, secretary of the party committee of the "Altair" NPO, received the support of the majority of the communists of his organization, he had to beat six other communists who were nominated by workshop party organizations with the rights of local organizations. In essence, mini-elections have already taken place at the "Altair" NPO with campaigning, contests, and even a secret ballot including all the association's communists. And Knizhnikov still has to look forward to the real elections.

Nomination at the smaller party organizations went more easily, but the victors apparently will have a more difficult time at the next stages of the campaign.

In the rayon this campaign is in full swing, and the candidates are meeting with the labor collectives everywhere. Nomination ends on 20 April. Then all the candidates will be registered over three days, and elections of the congress delegates will take place in the rayon on 25-26 April. We expect that the percent of delegates elected on 25-26 April may not be high. And in the event that no single candidate obtains 50 percent of the votes, runoff elections will take place just as for elections to the soviets. The ballot for a seat will include the two aspirants who have received the greatest number of votes.

Yes, the elections are still to come, and it is difficult to guess the results and predict the nine names of the future delegates. But there is no doubt that only worthy people can last through such a difficult electoral marathon as the candidates endure today.

#### **RSFSR Chairman Answers Deputies' Questions**

90UN1919.1 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA  
in Russian 22 May 90 p 1

[Report by NOVOSTI parliamentary observer Vladimir Ostrovskiy, special for RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA: "The Deputies Conduct an Examination. RSFSR Council of Ministers Chairman A.V. Vlasov Answers the Elected Deputies of Russia"]

[Text] *Following his report at the First Congress of People's Deputies of Russia the chairman of the Council of Ministers was asked 126 questions. The premier was ready with the answers, it is true, but was worried about*

*time. The dialogue between the legislators and the head of the executive power promises to be interesting. It will to all appearances be a serious examination of A. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and RSFSR people's deputy.*

Responding to a question on the possibility of the government combining two opposing processes, namely, dismantling the sector monopolies and setting up concerns on a sector basis, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers chairman said this:

I understand that the deputy who has asked this question has seen a certain contradiction in the fact that while insisting on the elimination of ministries we are nevertheless advising that concerns be set up that in his opinion may represent an even more dangerous monopoly than today's ministries. They say that this kind of thing is capable of tying up the market and paralyzing it even more than the present command system. But of course, we will not simply change the sign. It is necessary to solve the problem in a fundamental way. And in my report I drew attention to this. I think that if a concern shows signs of monopolism it should be dismantled. But for this we need an antimonopoly law and we must create an organ to implement such legislation.

Another fundamental issue is this: What is your opinion on giving all-Union status to the autonomous republics?

A. Vlasov believes that first and foremost it is advisable to expand the area of competence for the autonomous republics: Give them the right to deal with all administrative-territorial matters on their own territories, problems of ecological protection, questions relating to development of the national culture and language and the preservation of historical monuments. They should be switched to self-management and self-financing so as to strengthen their economic independence. In addition, they should be given the right of appeal against enactments of the RSFSR and the USSR if they are at variance with the competence of these formations as laid down in the Constitution.

One group of deputies asked a question about measures that are being implemented for the survival of representatives of numerically small peoples in the Far North and to bring their living standards up to the level of other peoples in Russia.

The republic government shares the alarm of deputies evoked by the position of the numerically small peoples of the North, A. Vlasov said. The first congress of these peoples was held this spring. At that congress there was discussion of their political and socioeconomic positions and ways to develop them further. The congress concluded that there is a need for special state protection and assistance for them. The congress delegates approved a draft for such a government program (for 1991-95 and through the years 2000). This document defines the specific measures needed to solve the socioeconomic problems of the peoples in this region. In the

near future it will be submitted for approval by the USSR Council of Ministers. The association elected by the congress will represent the interests of these peoples at various levels both within the country and in international organizations.

In addition, draft legislation is now being drawn up concerning the numerically small peoples. Where the peoples do not have their own state formations, national rayons are being created. In Yakutiya, for example, the Eveno-Batantayskiy Rayon has already been set up. Another step has been taken—from 1991 the autonomous okrugs will have a separate section in the plans for economic development. In order to preserve the traditional way of life of the indigenous population, in the Far North in particular, the RSFSR Council of Ministers has decided to create a zone of priority nature use and limited economic activity. Whereas previously fines for damage caused to reindeer pasture ranged from R5 to R28 per hectare, they will now range from R1,500 to R32,000.

The State Committee for Labor and Social Problems is working on a concept for regional regulation of wages for workers and employees in which provision will be made for higher wages for the population in these regions, taking into account the improvements in the established coefficients.

A. Vlasov was also asked a question on opening up zones for joint enterprises in Nakhodka City.

It was the opinion of the premier that this is an optimal way to switch to a regulated market economy and to include Russia in the international division of labor. However, the all-Union ministries and departments have not carried out their assignment from the USSR Council of Ministers to prepare the necessary normative base for such a step. In our draft Concept for the Economic Sovereignty of the RSFSR, Deputy A. Vlasov noted, provision is made for such decisions to be made at the republic level. The Russian government has drawn up a draft resolution for the future Russian Supreme Soviet on the creation of this kind of zone in the region of Nakhodka. If the draft concept is supported by the congress then the government will try to move on to form this zone on an experimental basis as early as 1 July this year. True, it will be necessary for the republic legislative organ to adopt fundamental principles for the functioning of the zone and the allocations for it.

There were many questions asked by people who are affected by demographic problems.

In the last quarter century alone, said A. Vlasov, natural population growth in the republic has been cut to almost one-third and is now 6.2 per 1,000. The birth rate for unwed mothers is increasing. One child in eight in Russia is born outside a registered marriage. About 60 percent of families have only one child. Compared to 1960 the rural population has declined by 17 million. The process of depopulation of the villages is taking place in 22 rural localities. Without waiting for the

thunderclap the government has moved to devise a concept to pursue an active demographic policy and draw up a program for population development. We are trying to have it ready by the end of this year.

There are also inaccuracies in the information available to the deputies, Aleksandr Vladimirovich continued. Thus, I have received a number of notes on radioactive contamination in a number of oblasts in Russia. This is undoubtedly a great human tragedy. And here it is essential to be accurate in the arguments so as not to excessively whip up passions and emotions and not to worsen what is already a complicated situation for the people living in these areas. Meanwhile, comparing the costs per person in the affected areas of Russia and the Ukraine for the cleanup following the Chernobyl accident, one deputy lowered the figure for Russia by a factor of three. The number of those evacuated and spending on the long-term program and on urgent measures (for the next two years) in our republic is not much lower and for some items is even higher than for the Ukraine. In particular, over the next five years Bryansk Oblast will be receiving R6 billion for the accident cleanup. Considerable allocations are planned for Kaluga, Tula, Orel, and Smolensk Oblasts.

In conclusion A. Vlasov said that the questions from the deputies were not only an examination for him but also a good incentive for checking himself and for a critical look at the approach being employed by the government to Russia's many urgent problems.

#### Upcoming RSFSR Deputies Congress Viewed

90UN1727A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 29 Apr 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Prof V. Grachev, doctor of technical sciences and people's deputy of the RSFSR: "How To Compose the Agenda" and additional comment on RSFSR Congress]

[Text] Russia's emergence from the economic, cultural, and ecological crisis and hope of economic and spiritual revival among all the peoples of Russia are being linked with the upcoming Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies. A particular feature of it is the fact that the political forum is now being prepared by the people's elect who were themselves delegated to the preparatory commission from their oblasts and republics. How the congress is prepared, how it progresses, and the kind of decisions it adopts—this will determine Russia's place in the union of republics. A most important pre-congress issue is the shaping of new authorities in Russia and the determination of the program of their activity.

Examination of the agenda in the preparatory commission has revealed two approaches to its formation and, essentially, to the concept of realization of the congress. One, in my view, is constructive: Immediately following the mandatory items connected with the formation of the working bodies of the congress and the adoption of



the provisional standing orders to embark on the election of the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Elections on a democratic, multiple-choice basis with extensive discussion of the program of the candidates for this high office and an evaluation of their professional and personal qualities. This will permit election to the office of chairman of a worthy individual who acts in the interests of the people and who is prepared to professionally perform the difficult work pertaining to leadership of the legislative authority of the biggest union republic. Then, in accordance with this concept, it will be necessary to elect deputy chairmen and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet itself in accordance with the current RSFSR Constitution. It is then proposed to call a break in the congress, during which the first session of the Supreme Soviet would discuss certain most important and urgent matters within its jurisdiction and submit to the congress proposals concerning changes to the RSFSR Constitution and the nominations for chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, which is to present the program of the government's forthcoming activity.

This program should be subjected to thorough analysis and all-around discussion, without any limitations in respect of the length of the debate and the number of proposals discussed. This is a basic constructive component of the congress' activity. It will subsequently be necessary, in accordance with the agenda, to approve the top statesmen heading the People's Control Committee, the Supreme Court and the State Arbitration Tribunal. It is proposed in conclusion to formulate a document on ways to assure the sovereignty of the RSFSR, the intention here being to discuss primarily questions of economic sovereignty and the restoration of equality in distribution among the republics.

I agree with this concept of the procedure and agenda of the congress, in the main. And primarily because the economic sovereignty and economic independence of the RSFSR are a most important specific issue which needs to be tackled immediately. Of the R83.3 billion of industrial output produced on the territory of the RSFSR currently, industry under republic jurisdiction accounts for only R21.4 billion.

In connection with the enactment of the USSR laws "General Principles of Local Self-Government and the Local Economy in the USSR" and "Principles of Economic Relations of the USSR and the Union and Autonomous Republics" the organs of power of the RSFSR will be confronted with new and very important tasks. I shall cite the following example. In accordance with Article 2 of the law "Principles of Economic Relations of the USSR and the Union and Autonomous Republics," a union republic on its territory "regulates investment activity and the conditions of construction on the territory of the republic". The republic has acquired a real opportunity for having done with "projects of the century" and "incompletes" and for sharply reducing investments in the production of production goods. It is even more important to have done with "reclamation for reclamation's sake" and "construction for construction's

sake" and to channel the capacity and resources thus released into the manufacture of consumer goods, primarily into agriculture, the processing sectors, the construction of housing and roads and gas supply to the countryside.

The government program should contain both an analysis of the socioeconomic situation of the RSFSR and paths for a solution of the current situation, an acceleration of economic reform and Russia's cultural revival. Constructive examination of this important question is, in my view, the most important thing that the agenda should contain.

But there is also another approach to the formation of the congress' agenda and, essentially, to the concept of its realization. The approach proposed by deputies of the "Democratic Russia" bloc is as follows: Following the mandatory issues pertaining to formation of the working bodies of the congress and the adoption of the provisional standing orders, it is proposed to hear the reports of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and RSFSR Council of Ministers, "Political and Socioeconomic Situation of the RSFSR," that is, to discuss once more the question "how bad things are with us." It is then proposed to announce a break, during which the congress commissions would be at work, and only after this to embark on the election of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and its chairman and deputies. Thus the chairman would be elected some 10-12 days after work had started. It is then proposed to discuss the program of the government's activity and approve the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court and chief state arbiter. It is proposed to discuss the question of the People's Control Committee separately.

This agenda was shaped following the work of the conciliation commission. The original version of the deputies who are members of "Democratic Russia" did not contain discussion of the program of the government's activity. Room was not found for it among the 21 items on the agenda. At the same time, however, it included questions which are not within the jurisdiction of a union republic. I refer to "The RSFSR Procuracy" and "The RSFSR People's Control Committee." These questions cannot be decided at the congress without alterations to the USSR Constitution.

The second proposal for realization of the congress, even in its conciliatory version, is, in my view, unconstructive and would not lead us out of the crisis. On the contrary, an endeavor to multiply one's own ranks and approach the election of the Supreme Soviet and its chairman after having "scored points" in the course of debate on the topics "How Bad Things Are With Us," "Sovereignty," and "Power of the People" show through in it.

The essence of the question of "sovereignty" is easily determined by having familiarized oneself with the declaration on this score distributed among the deputies.

Clause 1 proclaims, "The RSFSR is a democratic sovereign state based on the rule of law...." A separate state? But what about our brothers from the Ukraine, Belorussia and other republics? Whither should we shove the Central Asian republics? Into the abyss of beggarly capitalism which reigns in countries of the East. If anyone needs this, it is the latter-day "bais," "khans," and "amirs." The working people should themselves decide these questions in a referendum, and the RSFSR Congress' adoption of Clause 1 of the above declaration would be a violation of USSR law.

Let us take a second document which has been distributed among the deputies and which proposes the adoption at the congress of a "Decree on Power": "The system of party-political leadership in the armed forces... and the KGB authorities is to be abolished on the territory of the RSFSR...." Once again nonconformity with the USSR Constitution! And it is proposed to discuss all this prior to the election of the Supreme Soviet and its chairman.

Despite the fact that the bulk of people's deputies are trying to find a compromise solution, to which the work of the conciliation groups testifies, deputies from the "Democratic Russia" bloc are insistently continuing to champion their line—involving the congress in debate on any issue prior to the elections. And furthermore, whereas some deputies of this bloc are now consenting merely to discuss the report, it is those who wish to impose on the congress a debate "on sovereignty" and "on power" prior to the elections. They are bringing the strongest pressure to bear on the rest of the people's deputies.

Preventing the congress from drowning in endless debate and being diverted from a constructive solution of urgent questions is the task of "patriotic Russia," as the progressive forces of RSFSR people's deputies were aptly called by V.G. Rasputin, member of the Presidential Council, participating in a SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA "roundtable." I would like to quote words expressed there by steelworker P.G. Saturin: "How to break the vicious circle and get down to actual work? Doing this without those who produce the material wealth, that is, without us, is, I believe, impossible." True! All workers, kolkhoz [collective farm] members, figures of science and culture, leaders, and all to whom the interests of the peoples of Russia are dear need to show that constructive actions, and they alone, not endless debate and political adventures—like "secession from the USSR"—can extricate Russia from the economic crisis and create the real conditions for the revival of its peoples.

#### Restoring Everything to its Proper Place

What is objective in society is, as is known, not the will and aspiration of leaders but the effect of economic laws.

It is essential to free the development of production relations and the action of economic laws, which can

only be manifested under conditions of the free mutual relations of the producer and the consumer based on the law of value.

This does not mean that we should unreservedly rush into the spontaneity of private enterprise. It is essential to take account of the negative aspects of capitalist production and take only the positive features. It follows from this that economic units possessing full economic independence should be collective in all spheres of production in order that there be no individual owners of the means of production or that they not constitute a majority of producers inasmuch as we could otherwise be acquiring early capitalism with all its negative phenomena. That the principal body regulating the activity of independent enterprises should be the soviet of people's deputies, more precisely, soviets of all levels. That the leadership of enterprise activity should be economic.

I believe that the soviets cannot act otherwise inasmuch as, being law-making bodies, they can, as distinct from the machinery of state, adopt only general enactments of equal significance for all enterprises, not specific commands and orders, which could be entirely different for different enterprises.

*I. Vasilyev, deputy leader of a department of the Moscow Higher Party School, candidate of legal sciences.*

#### Your Opinion

On 11 April of this year SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA asked readers to express their opinion concerning their notion of the supreme authority of Russia, what measures, in their view, should be adopted by the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies to strengthen Russian statehood and political structures and what they would like to place on the congress' agenda personally. Today we publish the first responses to our inquiry.

I would very much like to see common sense which would bar the way to various political tightrope walkers and demagogues prevailing in the Russian Parliament. To see Russia leaving for its people what they have earned—enough of Russians' beggarly existence! And it is time we were all working hard and persevering, working until we drop. That is nothing, fatigue passes, and satisfaction from working for our own benefit remains.

*K. Kirsanov, Georgiyevsk*

I believe that the Congress of Russian People's Deputies should examine the question of restoration of the republic of Volga Germans. Precisely because Soviet Germans have despaired of seeing it solved, their mass departure abroad has begun.

*S. Zaporov, Moscow*



The deputies need to clearly understand that they are plenipotentiary masters of the Russian Republic empowered by our great people—not supplicants and not petitioners. And primarily to assert the republic's economic independence.

*P. Krichko, Artem, Maritime Kray.*

The deputies' speeches should be concise and business-like, without exercises in eloquence—we have heard enough!

*N. Ovchinnikov, Sverdlovsk.*

### Communist Party Congress Delegate Selection Begins

90UN1680B Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 12 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by I. Kosarev: "Equal Opportunity"]

[Text] A group meeting of Communists of the technical schools and vocational training facilities of Leningradskiy Rayon was held. There are several such groups in electoral district No. 2 which will elect one delegate to the congress. Therefore, candidates will yet have to face their main struggle. However, even in its first stage this struggle does not look at all like some formal event where a thicket of raised hands "in favor" follows 10 minutes after the agenda is announced.

Law instructor from a vocational school of the book trade A. Frolov, and secretary of the party bureau of an aviation vocational school V. Plotnikova embarked on a competitive struggle for the trust of Communists. This is how this "duel" proceeded: Each of the candidates spoke for 10 minutes, which was followed by two dozen questions put to them, debate, and voting. Finally, V. Plotnikova won with a four-to-one ratio of votes.

I asked A. Ustinovich, secretary of the party organization of a mathematical vocational school, who chaired the meeting, why V. Plotnikova was the one to win.

"It is absolutely clear to me that the chances of both candidates before the meeting began were absolutely equal. Everything hinged not even on their speeches but on how each of them managed to respond to the interested and principled questions of Communists, how he managed to defend and prove the thoroughness and balance of his own political position. I think A. Frolov lost for the very reason that no thorough work was seen behind nice, catchy provisions borrowed from various platforms; nor was there a perception of how they can be implemented. For example, it is not enough to advocate the territorial principle of party organization; one also has to have an idea of how to implement it. As I see it, Frolov did not have answers to this and a number of other questions.

"In turn, V. Plotnikova clearly outlined what she does not like in our current party life. She spoke quite consistently about the steps she has taken and will take as

the secretary of a party bureau. It was exactly this consistency, firmness, and thoroughness that have won the Communists over for her."

Therefore the group meeting of Communists of technical schools and vocational training facilities entrusted the power to carry on the struggle to V. Plotnikova.

### Moscow Soviet Holds Press Conference

90UN1680C Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 12 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by M. Polyatykin: "Common Problems, Different Approaches"]

[Text] A press conference in the White Hall of the Moscow Soviet began somewhat unexpectedly for the journalists. Head of the press group of the organizational committee for preparing the session A. Pankov made a statement on behalf of the group which contained attacks against the city press organs—the newspapers MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA.

Our newspaper in particular was at the receiving end. The essence of the accusations leveled by the deputy boiled down to our supposedly failing to cover the operation of the organizational committee, trying to sow the seeds of confrontation among various groups in the current composition of the Moscow Soviet, belittling the role of the "Democratic Russia" bloc in preparing the documents discussed at deputies' meetings, and offering little information about what A. Pankov considers to be an unqualified victory of this bloc over the party apparatus.

I would admit that it was strange for us to listen to such accusations, because they were simply not true, if for no other reason. An appeal by the deputy at the end of his statement not to build up tension was as timely as can be if applied to him. This was confirmed by the members of the organizational committee who took the floor after A. Pankov and distanced themselves from his statement.

Deputy Yu. Vinogradov observed that the accusatory pathos of such statements would hardly facilitate efficient work or bring the viewpoints of different groups closer together.

Responding somewhat later to a question concerning differences between the corps of deputies of the old and the new term, Yu. Vinogradov observed that the unusual vigor of the newly elected deputies and their desire to improve the situation in the city are now apparent, which is of course commendable. It is another matter that most of them do not yet know how this is done and are learning on the job, mastering the difficult fundamentals of city government. On the whole, an unusual atmosphere prevails in the Moscow Soviet now; radical changes are in the air. The executive committee is making a considerable effort in order for the first session to be successful, and for the documents prepared on the

eve of it to help elect the leaders of the soviet and its executive committee smoothly and knowledgeably and make balanced and realistic decisions.

The sense of a statement by member of the organizational committee V. Shakhnovskiy boiled down to the fact that the still present heat of the election struggle affects the actions of some deputies; the ardor of it has not been extinguished entirely. However, everything will work out as time goes by. Judgments will become more balanced and less agitated. He also agreed that there is a lot to be learned, and proposed not to hurry with dismissals or acceptance of the resignation of the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee, of which the deputies have already been notified, because they do not change horses in midstream. Supposedly, they should go on pulling their heavy cart.

B. Anpilov, who represents the "Moscow" bloc in the organizational committee, categorically disagreed with accusations leveled against the city newspapers in the statement of the press group, as well as with the statement that the bloc consists of apparatchiks only, as some people maintain. He called for caution in using these terms, and referred to the case of a leaflet of the People's Front and other social formations and organizations disseminated in the Marble Hall of the Moscow Soviet during a meeting of the deputies. Without mincing words, the leaflet stigmatized "the Communist clique." The deputy observed that if this were to go on the time for "witch hunting" to begin would not be far away. Is this what we should strive for?

Leaders of the groups "Otechestvo" and "The Independents" V. Chetverikov and I. Krugovikh likewise did not accept the tone of A. Pankov with regard to the newspapers. In the course of it, V. Chetverikov said that in his opinion the goals of all movements inside the deputy corps are the same, whereas the most varied methods of attaining them may be offered. However, the methods and means should not become politically tinted. I. Krugovikh added that they should not fight one another or, incidentally, treat the executive committee like a draft horse.

Soviet and foreign journalists were interested in the most diverse aspects of the activity of the organizational committee, the positions and views of the blocs, groups, and movements. Heads of working groups, those who represented the organizational committee at the meeting, offered exhaustive answers to most questions. Apart from organizational issues, the first session is expected to consider the issues of providing housing for Muscovites, fulfillment of the housing program, opportunities for interpreting Union laws with regard to Moscow, the issue of a census of the property of the Moscow Soviet, the issues of refugees, registration of press publications and public organizations, and relations with the Union and republic governments.

The conversation worked out well. Yet the impression we were left with after this press conference was ambiguous, and not because we were criticized—we are used to this—but because even in this note we cannot avoid mentioning who is who and what bloc or group he represents. The deputies themselves did not miss any opportunity to stress this fact.

However, we did not elect the deputies in order to later lead them apart into groups, little groups, blocs, and little blocs. We elected them so that these new people could take a new view of the city from fresh positions, a view not restricted by the blinders of old ideas and not burdened with previous connections. Given the weight of city problems, the deputies should not be settling scores and reminiscing on who got the seat and how, but should rather do specific things and resolve the issues which have not been taken care of for years, if not decades.

#### **Moscow Independent Deputies' Plans Viewed**

90UN16871 *Moscow* VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA  
in Russian 6 Apr 90 p 1

[Interview with I.E. Krugovikh, Moscow Soviet people's deputy, representative of the group of independent deputies in the Organizational Committee for Holding the First Session of the City Soviet, and deputy chairman of the Organizational Committee, by VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA correspondent Yu. Kazarin; date and place not given: "We Are Independent Deputies"; first three paragraphs are paper's introduction]

[Text] As VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA has already reported, three factions—"Democratic Russia," "Moscow," and "Otechestvo"—were set up on the eve of the first session of the Moscow Soviet of the 21st term. A considerable segment of the deputies who did not join these united in a group of independents.

VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA readers are asking us to discuss this group and its position.

A VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA correspondent addressed his questions to I.E. Krugovikh, Moscow Soviet people's deputy, representative of the group of independent deputies in the Organizational Committee for Holding the First Session of the City Soviet, and deputy chairman of the Organizational Committee.

[Kazarin] Igor Erikovich, what prompted your group to take this position? In general, what does "independent" mean? Independent of whom?

[Krugovikh] We, the independent deputies, are independent of the blocs first of all. As we see it, the blocs which have emerged have at least two characteristic features. First, this is the presence of a certain internal organizational structure. There are leading organs, for example, coordinating councils, and there are rank-and-file members. Secondly, a voting mechanism of some kind is established within the blocs. No matter how democratic

this mechanism is, the very fact of its existence turns a bloc into some kind of a distinct force within the soviet operating in a coordinated manner.

Unlike the "Democratic Russia" and "Moscow" blocs, the group of independent deputies was formed as a group in which both an internal organizational structure and a mechanism of coordinated voting are absent. We have neither leaders nor rank-and-file members. Everybody is free to vote, speak, and state his position in keeping with his personal convictions and interests.

Therefore, the principle of our activities is to be subordinated only and exclusively to our voters, to carry out their standing instructions and assignments strictly in keeping with the Law on the Status of USSR People's Deputies, rather than for the deputies to be subordinated to the decisions of the blocs, whether due to the requirements of party discipline or on the basis of intrabloc subordination. The interests of Muscovites are our common goal.

This is not at all to say that our position is passive. On the contrary, the very formation of this group is a constructive, healthy element in the operation of the Moscow Soviet, which we will develop and continue through a consistent, creative policy in the course of discussing all of our common problems.

I should say that many of us proceeded from the principle of independence even in the course of the election campaign. We are profoundly convinced that it is not at all necessary to be a member of, say, "Democratic Russia" in order to fight for democracy; there is no need at all to be a member of "Otechestvo" Society in order to love our Motherland and advocate the national renaissance of Russia—all our profound respect for both sides notwithstanding.

[Kazarin] How many deputies do you have in the group of independents at present?

[Krugovykh] About 50. There are party members and nonparty members among them. They are workers, representatives of the intelligentsia, religious believers—all kinds of people. We do not strive to increase the size of our group at any price. The main point is that our deputy group, already a quite numerous one, includes competent people with diverse professional backgrounds, capable of making independent—in the true meaning of this word—proposals and facilitating the efficient resolution of the problems of the city.

[Kazarin] To your mind, what is it important to accomplish at the forthcoming session of the Moscow Soviet?

[Krugovykh] A lot of work is to be done even before the session. I think that an effective Moscow Soviet will comprise no side with a dominant position, in which the quality of proposals by deputies rather than their number and adherence to blocs, and healthy competition rather than monopoly are the crucial factors. Otherwise, we will come to what we have fought against for so long:

restrictions on the initiative of deputies. The activities of our group are now aimed at providing an environment of creativity and high efficiency in the Moscow Soviet.

We appeal to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Moscow Soviet, and rayon soviet deputies who share our views, and suggest a meeting on Thursday 12 April at 18:00 hours in the Marble Hall of the Moscow Soviet.

### 'Moscow' Deputies Group Declaration

90UN1680A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 12 Apr 90 p 1

[Declaration by the Coordinating Council of the "Moscow" Deputies Group: "Welcome to the 'House of Moscow!'" ]

[Text] Yet another meeting of the "Moscow" Deputies Group was held at the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee, at which organizational issues associated with preparations for the first session of the Moscow Soviet were discussed. The deputies heard a report on the results of a trip by a Moscow Soviet delegation to Leningrad and information on the work of the organizational committee.

At the meeting, views were exchanged concerning a possible candidate chairman of the Moscow Soviet and his deputy. However, a final decision will be made at the next meeting of the group, which will be held on the eve of the session. The issue of organizing a live broadcast from the first session of the Moscow Soviet was among those on the agenda. Members of the "Moscow" Group came out unequivocally in favor of broadcasting live the proceedings in the hall.

The text of the declaration of the "Moscow" Deputies Group which we publish today was discussed and adopted at the same meeting.

There are new deputies in the Moscow Soviet. During the elections, the voters supported those who offered the most vigorous and attractive programs of democratic transformations. The implementation of these programs will now begin, as well as the setting of common priorities for all deputies and the entire city.

However, no joint actions followed at first. Having secured the credentials of deputies, the leaders of the "Democratic Russia" pre-election bloc of candidates opted for splitting tactics and hastened to organize their own faction in the Moscow Soviet.

We came out and still come out against blocs and groups in the soviets. We believe that it is imperative for the deputies to make decisions in keeping with their views and conscience and the expression of the will of voters. At present, we are forced to create the "Moscow" Deputies Group in order to avoid the dissociation of other deputies while being clearly aware of the fact that the policy of blocs is improper under the present conditions.

### Social Protection for Muscovites

We believe that difficult trials for a majority of Muscovites will be unavoidable in the environment of accelerating the transition of our country's economy to market relations and an open-door policy with regard to foreign capital.

The "Moscow" Deputies Group proposes that the Moscow Soviet create an additional system of social protection for citizens and labor collectives, along with the measures developed by the government of the country for a period of transition to a market economy. To this end:

- to implement measures for the harshest combating of speculation, step up efforts to control crime and shadow economy operators and to ensure reliable protection of the life, health, dwelling, assets, honor, and dignity of every Muscovite;
- to set forth in legislation the right of Muscovites to a guaranteed minimum income. To revise the amounts of retirement benefits and allowances annually at the expense of subsidies from state and local budgets, taking the growth of inflation into account;
- proceeding from the needs of Muscovites, to change the production lines of unprofitable enterprises, and speed up the development of various spheres of city management by using labor resources released due to reductions in the armed forces;
- to ensure social protection for Muscovites in their exercise of the constitutional right to work, and prevent the appearance of mass unemployment in the course of implementing the economic reform and our transition to market relations;
- to establish bonus coefficients for the wages of Moscow employees, primarily for construction workers, mass transit drivers, employees of law enforcement organs, health care, culture, and education; to ensure equal pay for equal work regardless of the form of property.

### Our Priorities

#### 1. Housing for Muscovites:

- to carry out a census of housing and, starting in 1991, implement a transition to differentiated rents depending on the size and quality of housing; to ensure in this manner a reduction, and in the long run, complete cancellation of rent collection from low-income families and those with many children;
- to implement the practice of transferring buildings to ministries, offices, and foreign companies only after prior compensation by means of housing space built by them;
- to create a modern construction industry in the capital city that will be capable of bringing variety to the

architectural appearance of the city. To this end, without harming the labor collectives, to tap additional funds obtained through the redistribution of contributions by enterprises reporting to the Union and the republic in favor of the Moscow Soviet and cooperatives, as well as independent and commercial operations of the Moscow Soviet and the development of domestic and international tourism.

#### 2. The Economy and Finance:

- to remove all restrictions on the growth of wages of employees of state enterprises;
- state orders placed at Moscow enterprises should not exceed 70 to 80 percent of the total volume of production. The labor collectives will decide how to use the spare capacity, what to produce, and at what prices to sell it;
- to ensure changes in the formation of the city budget by establishing a fixed rate of contributions to the Union and republic budgets;
- to establish direct, mutually advantageous, partnership relations with other industrial and agricultural regions of the country, beginning with Moscow Oblast.

#### 3. The Environment:

- to make the forest and park belt of the capital city a national reserve;
- to perform a mandatory, independent ecological review of all construction projects in residential areas and of industrial facilities.
- to set up deputy monitoring of the execution of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution on accelerating the transfer of ecologically harmful and nonspecialized enterprises beyond the city limits.

#### 4. Health Care and Culture:

- to develop a concept of creating rayon territorial medical associations, including ministry-operated polyclinics and hospitals, which will provide health care for rayon residents;
- to create an ecological foundation and conditions for the treatment of Muscovites, especially children, who have suffered due to the impact of harmful environmental factors;
- with a view to organizing healthy leisure, to build physical education and health maintenance complexes in the microrayons, and equip athletic clubs and sites in keeping with scientifically justified norms;
- to take additional measures for restoring and maintaining the historic center of Moscow and other monuments of Russian national culture.



**Power to the People, Sovereignty to the City**

The "Moscow" Deputies Group proposes to introduce a draft law on the status of Moscow as the capital of the Union and the republic in the USSR Supreme Soviet as early as this year.

**We are against:**

- the dictate of ministries, offices, all economic organizations, and associations situated in Moscow;
- squandering the land, residential and nonresidential space, construction of new industrial and civil facilities of the city without the permission of the Moscow Soviet.

**We are in favor of:**

- holding citywide and rayon referendums on fundamental problems and prospects of the development of the city;
- direct competitive elections of the Moscow Soviet chairman;
- the transfer of power in its entirety to the soviets of people's deputies and local self-government organs, which rules out manifestations of anarchy and disrespect for the law. We call on all people to facilitate the emergence of true people's power.

**We are sure that unity is strength.**

A balance of ideas, their interaction, and mutual enrichment are the essence of genuine democracy. The unification of deputies in the "Moscow" Group should be interpreted in this very context. This is not a "bloc" or yet another "front." This is a position whose goal is creative work in the interest of Muscovites.

The "Moscow" Group does not impose any restrictions on the expression of the will of deputies belonging to it. They are free to vote and make decisions in keeping with their convictions and the standing orders of their voters.

A nonbloc club of deputies "House of Moscow" should open the path to a reasonable accord, to the mutual enrichment of ideas. We propose to set up a fund of ideas and social initiatives at the club.

The nonbloc club of deputies will make it possible to unite in a creative environment all those people's deputies who care about the future of Moscow, the capital of our Motherland.

Welcome to the "House of Moscow!"

Let us work together!

Our address is Moscow, Gorkiy Street 13 (deputy room, third floor).

Our telephone numbers are 924-68-54 and 229-13-91.

*Coordinating Council of the "Moscow" Deputies Group.*

**Deputies View Moscow Soviet Session**

90UN1689B Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA  
in Russian 17 Apr 90 p 1

[Interview with Moscow City Soviet People's Deputies A.S. Zubrev and S.Ye. Nikiforov by unidentified VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA correspondent: "Questions to the Deputies"]

[Text] In a break between meetings of the session our correspondent chatted with two deputies.

The first to answer a question from the VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA correspondent was A.S. Zubrev, people's deputy of the Moscow City Soviet.

[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] Anatoliy Stepanovich, the session has begun. What, in your view, are its main tasks?

[Zubrev] Many problems have accumulated. But first we have to approve the agenda and elect the working bodies and, let's face it, really get a feeling for power. Establish ourselves in our own eyes as deputies. In front of the building in which the session is being held Muscovites have now unfolded posters reminding us of the problems which confront the city, society, and consequently all of us.

The creation in the Moscow City Soviet of an emergency commission, something like "first aid," is envisaged. It will help us decide what we should take up first of all. I myself intend working on the public education commission since the higher school is my business.

Deputy S.Ye. Nikiforov answers the VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA's correspondent's question.

[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] Sergey Yevgenyevich, a session in the rayon has just ended for you—you are, after all, a deputy of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon Soviet also. And now a new session, of the City Soviet this time. Will many similar matters be examined at them?

[Nikiforov] Our rayon session was complex. New steering bodies are being elected. So despite the fact that we in the rayon worked a whole week, we decided just one question—we elected a chairman of the soviet. He is Aleksandr Fedorovich Kapustin. How work will take shape here, at the Moscow City Soviet session, it is as yet difficult to say (I would note in parenthesis that the chairman at the rayon session conducted the meetings very precisely, with not much of a result. I fear such a similarity. True, there has been no particular cause for alarm as yet.)

**Prokofyev, Others at Press Conference 27 Apr**

90UN1757A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA  
in Russian 28 Apr 90 p 1

[Report on CPSU Moscow Gorkom press conference by G. Semenova and R. Yevdokimov: "'I Do Not Consider Myself the "Moscow" Leader," says Yu.A. Prokofyev"]

[Text] It has already become a tradition for the CPSU Moscow Gorkom [city party committee] to hold a press

conference for Soviet and foreign journalists. Yesterday, at one such press conference Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of the gorkom, spoke about the results of the first session of the Moscow City Soviet and about the plans for the May Day celebration in Moscow. V.V. Kotov, first deputy head of the gorkom organizational party and cadre work department, spoke about the selection of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and to the 28th CPSU city party conference.

The press conference was opened by A.I. Smirnov, head of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom ideology department, who informed the audience about the election of Yu.A. Prokofyev as a party congress delegate.

We would like to note here that the foreign journalists' interest in the topics of the press conference was immense, as became obvious from the number of questions they asked. Here are some of the items that attracted their special attention. A correspondent of the American magazine, *TIME*, wanted to know the following:

"According to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, since the beginning of this year 6,000 Communists have left the party. Why is this happening? Recently an open letter from the CPSU Central Committee was published. Aren't you afraid that the Communists expelled from the party may form an opposition to the CPSU on an all-Union level and not just on a city level?"

A correspondent of an American radio broadcasting company wanted to know which buildings were assigned for the party and how it was done. A representative of the Czechoslovak *RUDE PRAVO* wanted to hear some comments about a Lithuanian's attempt at self-immolation in Moscow.

As it became known, Stanislovas Ziamaitis, 52, was brought in serious condition to the Emergency Institute imeni Sklifosovskiy and died soon afterwards.

In short, the questions asked by both foreign and Soviet journalists did not allow the press-conference organizers to avoid direct answers. However, nobody tried to do this. From the very beginning these encounters have had a trusting and open character.

One of the answers of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom first secretary may be an example of this. When he was asked why, being a Moscow Soviet deputy, he seldom attended the meetings of the first session of the city parliament, Yuriy Anatolyevich said literally the following:

"I attended the sessions pretty regularly. I did not miss a single meeting in the first week. I was absent yesterday afternoon because otherwise I would have missed a lot of things in the work of the city party organization at this important moment when they are selecting delegates to the party congress and the party city conference. And then I do not consider myself the leader of the "Moscow."

Now the "Moscow" bloc, which is part of the deputy corps of the Moscow City Soviet, now operates differently than it did in previous times when the first person

in the gorkom was automatically considered the leader of the city soviet party group. Yu.A. Prokofyev remarked that the "Moscow" group was a forced creation anyway, a sort of a response to the formation of the "Democratic Russia" bloc. But they did not form the "Moscow" as a means of confrontation or a way to assert one's political ambitions, not at all. That might be the reason for the group being not as active as some people want it to be.

This was rather an unorthodox comment for a party leader. The times have changed, however, and the party is intentionally choosing universal human values as its new priorities.

This approach of the city party leader is most evident in his treatment of dissension. When he was asked, for instance, what political platform he felt closest to, Yuriy Anatolyevich answered: "The more platforms we have, the better." When he was talking about the advantages and shortcomings of the CPSU Central Committee Platform, of the Democratic Platform, and of the Marxist platform, he remarked that the city party organization should use the best of the three to make up their own program for the party congress.

One of the questions dealt with the fate of the city newspapers, including the *VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA*. As we have already written, our editors expressed the readers' opinion and spoke against the changes in the newspaper orientation. The want to keep it as a socio-political newspaper of the city party organization. The CPSU Gorkom is prepared to help the Moscow City Soviet set up their own newspaper by letting them use the party printing presses and supplying them with paper.

This did not end the questions about CPSU "property." It seems that a lot of people are interested in sharing it. Among other things they mentioned the computerized information system created on the basis of the "Moscow" automated control system. It was created by both the Moscow City Soviet and the party gorkom but it was financed by the city budget. In Yu.A. Prokofyev's view the "property division argument" is easy to settle: "We are prepared to pay for the part of the computer system which the party officials use. If the soviet does not agree to that we can buy new computers and we have the money for them."

At the beginning of the article we mentioned that the CPSU Moscow Gorkom first secretary was elected as a delegate to the party congress. The selection of the city delegation, by the way, was described in a rather detailed way. The delegation should consist of 281 people and V.V. Kotov told us about the leaders of the party and the state that were nominated as candidates for delegates in several party districts. For instance, the Communists of the Frunzenskiy Rayon party organization nominated M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov was selected in the Leningradskiy Rayon party organization, and A.N. Yakovlev—in the Khoroshevskiy Rayon party organization. On an average there are six to seven candidates in the city for one delegate's seat.

### **Moscow Communist Party Secretaries' Draft 'Position'**

90UN1677A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 90 p 2

["Draft political position" of Moscow Conference of Primary Party Organization Secretaries]

[Text] The preparations for the 28th Party Congress and the discussion of the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform have initiated the appearance of the most diverse views and opinions on the paths of development of the party and society. The editors acquainted their readers on 23 February with the Democratic Platform in the CPSU and the platform of the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Party Organization. Today we publish the draft political position of the Moscow Conference of Primary Party Organization Secretaries.

The conference has been working since October 1989 and at the present time unites the secretaries of approximately 100 party organizations of 25 rayons of Moscow. They include such major ones as the "Mosmetrostroy," the "Salyut" Moscow Engineering Plant, the A.I. Mikoyan Plant, the "Soyuz" Moscow Science-Production Association, the "Soyuzenergo" Production Association, the USSR Academy of Sciences General Physics Institute, the "Impuls" Science-Production Association, the Automation All-Union Research Institute and Novosti. The first result of its work was a collectively formulated proposal pertaining to a mechanism for the direct election of delegates to the party congress, which was supported by the Moscow Gorkom [City Party Committee] and the rayon party organizations.

The draft political position published today was adopted on 23 March, and discussion of it will continue. We hope for the involved participation of readers of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and of the Communists.

The conference considers a principal task a strengthening of the interaction of the "primaries" in the shaping of the delegate corps for the 28th CPSU Congress. It will support candidates who share its positions and who have given an active account of themselves in specific undertakings.

The conference works Fridays in the Social and Political Center of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom and Moscow Committee in Room 613 from 1700 hours.

#### **I. Assessment of the Current Moment in the Country.**

The country is in a state of general economic, political, and social crisis, which is characterized by:

- the low efficiency of the economic system, which is incapable on one-sixth of terra firma rich in natural resources of securing a decent life for one-twentieth of the world's population;
- a deterioration in the environment as a result of irrational economic activity;
- the economic and moral devaluation of conscientious skilled labor;

—a decline in the living standard, low life expectancy, and increasing social inequality;

—a sharp exacerbation of interethnic relations, a decline in morality, and a growth of crime;

—a decline in the people's trust in the authorities and the party, political apathy, and the disenchantment of considerable numbers of Soviet people with the prospects of society's renewal.

#### **II. The Crisis of Society is Brought About By:**

—the bankruptcy of the concepts and ideas based on the monopolism of state ownership and class ideology which have been employed: concerning the historical mission of the dictatorship which was exercised by the party and state bureaucracy on behalf of the proletariat and which led to terror against the people; concerning the possibility of people's power without political pluralism; and concerning the unconditional priority of state interests over the interests of the individual and of pseudointernational interests over national interests;

—the conversion in the years of totalitarianism and stagnation of the upper echelon of the party into an antidemocratic power structure, which betrayed the interests of the working people and led to the political atrophy of the lower organizations;

—the unpreparedness of the party and the leadership of the country for the implementation of consistent political and radical economic reforms and the delay in democratization of the party.

#### **III. Basic Propositions of the Position**

For the implementation of radical transformations of society for the purpose of extrication of the country from the crisis and for ensuring the well-being of the people it is essential to consolidate the currents and groups in society consistently expressing the interests of the working people and supporting the following basic principles of the reform of society and the party.

In the political sphere:

- the principles of humanism, democracy, social protection, and individual rights and liberties;
- the unacceptability of monopolism and diktat in ideology, policy, economics, culture, science, and information;
- the conclusion on a voluntary basis of a new equal Union treaty;
- the formation of a multiparty society with a separation of legislative, executive, and judicial authority;
- the enactment of laws on the status of regional self-management authorities and the granting to them of operational-economic independence.

In the economic sphere:

- realization of the citizens' economic freedom on the basis of state, collective, and individual forms of ownership and the establishment of constitutional guarantees of their inviolability;
- legislative admissibility of the transfer of some state-owned enterprises and property to be leased or owned by labor collectives and citizens;
- the elimination of restrictions in the development of the agrarian sector and the elaboration and enactment of laws stimulating ecologically clean agricultural production;
- transition to controlled commodity, finance, and resource markets;
- financial reform and transition to convertible currency;
- reform of statewide economic planning through the elaboration of alternative economic concepts and the adoption of strategic official programs based on them.

In the social and spiritual spheres:

- creation of a system of support for the social stability and economic protection of the citizens and the establishment of guaranteed social security at the living wage level;
- the ecological safety of the people;
- the development of culture, health care, education, and science as essential sources of the progress of a society with a guaranteed future;
- the preservation and revival of the spiritual and historical values of the fatherland.

**IV. Reform of the Party:**

- the renunciation of the dogmatic interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and the shaping of a new concept of the Communist Party, making paramount the expression of the political interests of wage workers and the building of a free just society with a high living standard of the people and struggling at the elections for the right to lead the country;
- an analysis of the activity and determination of the responsibility of the party and its leaders for the results and consequences of the totalitarian regime in the country;
- the profound democratization of intraparty life based on reform of the party's organizational composition;
- a broadening of the organizational and financial rights of the primary party organizations and the development of horizontal structures;

- recognition of the possibility of the existence of political platforms and guarantees of the rights of the minority and its access to the mass media;
- the free expression of party members by way of direct secret elections on a multiple-choice basis of the party's executive structures;
- realization of the principle of the independence of the elective supervisory authorities and subordination of the executive authorities and the apparatus to the party's leading authorities;
- an immediate end to privileges and benefits in the party.

**Moscow Cadres Chief on Delegate Selection**

90UN16794 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 3 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with A. Prokofyev, head of the Party Building and Cadre Work Department of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom, by I. Kosarev: "Then Let Us Have Direct, Secret, and Multi-candidate Elections"]

[Text] **Party Tribune: The March CPSU Central Committee Plenum determined the procedure for elections to the congress, leaving the rayon party organizations the right to determine their mechanism.**

**Both Communists and non-party people are waiting for the upcoming 28th CPSU Congress. Everyone realizes that the foundations for its success and capacity for work are being laid today. And in many ways this depends upon the body of deputies which we elect. Questions concerning the mechanism for nominating deputies especially concern our readers. The mail to the editor testifies to this. The most typical and most often repeated of them lay at the base of our conversation with A. Prokofyev, head of the Party Building and Cadre Work Department of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom [City Party Committee].**

[Kosarev] Aleksandr Ivanovich, politics in general and the upcoming party congress in particular actively interest those Communists who as late as yesterday could with every justification have been considered among the inactive. What do you believe is the reason for such a transformation?

[Prokofyev] In essence, only now is the party beginning to live the life of a specifically political organization. Only now have the rank-and-file Communists felt that their word is having a genuinely tangible impact on the rulings of the superior party organs. An example supporting that conclusion is the passage on 16 March by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of a decree on the procedure for electing delegates to the congress. Recall how last autumn there were meetings and conferences at all the city's party organizations demanding direct, secret, and multi-candidate elections of delegates to the congress. Recall the address of the conference of secretaries of the local party organizations to the CPSU Central Committee, and then the Moscow Gorkom



Plenum with these same proposals. Today direct, secret, and multi-candidate elections at the party districts are a reality. The March Central Committee Plenum agreed with the opinion of the capital's Communists, and the Communists are now taking part in the decisions of the plenum, which means that they are in fact responsible for the implementation of the decisions. And in my view this is the reason for their activity.

[Kosarev] Yes, the decision to conduct direct, secret, and multi-candidate elections has been made. But as we know from our little democratic experience, the specific mechanism that the Communists choose for nominating and electing has just as great an influence on the results of the elections as these basic decisions. So how will the election of the delegates be organized in Moscow?

[Prokofyev] One additional important wish of the city's Communists made it into the Central Committee plenum decree—the mechanism for electing deputies will be worked out in its final form at the rayon party organizations. And it was approved at the 21 March gorkom plenum that the delegates to the congress would be elected by party districts in the city.

Our department has prepared recommendations concerning methods for organizing elections of delegates and forming party electoral districts. These recommendations have been reviewed at a session of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom commission for party building and improvement of cadre work, and on the whole they have been approved. As we have learned, the plenums of the CPSU raykoms [rayon party committees] have studied our recommendations when adopting final rulings on a procedure for elections.

[Kosarev] A watchful attitude toward the existing party organs has arisen in the party environment. Do these sentiments have an affect on the course of delegate elections, and will your recommendations be discarded if only because they come from the gorkom?

[Prokofyev] You are right, such moods really do exist. By its concrete actions the party gorkom is trying to overcome the situation that has arisen and restore the trust of the Communists. As for elections of delegates, our fundamental principle is that any basic organizational work relating to the conduct of elections and the counting of votes should be conducted by the forces of the electoral commissions, which have been formed on a wide democratic basis.

The plenums of the CPSU raykoms only form the electoral districts and approve the makeup of the rayon electoral commissions with regard for the opinion of the local party organizations.

[Kosarev] What kinds of commissions are going to be created to conduct elections of delegates?

[Prokofyev] In the first place there is the city electoral commission, whose task includes control over the course of elections in the rayons, the necessary consultations,

review of disputes, and summarization of the results of elections as a whole in the city.

At the level of the rayons, as I already said, rayon electoral commissions are being created which independently decide all questions relating to the organization of the nomination of candidates and the conduct of elections. In the rayon party organizations they sum up the results of the elections and report on them to the rayon party conferences, the city electoral commission, and the CPSU Central Committee.

District commissions are formed to conduct elections in the districts, and their makeup is approved by the rayon electoral commission at the representation of the local party organizations and the CPSU raykom.

For the direct conduct of voting and counting of votes in each local party organization, a precinct electoral commission is formed by decision of the assembly or the conference. At small party organizations the secretary of the party organization and his deputy can fulfill the duties of the precinct commission, and at large party organizations it is possible to create precinct commissions in the workshop organizations.

[Kosarev] What principle is used to create the party districts?

[Prokofyev] There are three variants.

The first is the single-seat district, where the number of Communists who are members of the district is determined by the quota of representation at the congress. In such an district candidates who have been nominated by the district run for a single delegate's seat.

The second variant. A district is formed for several (let us say two to four) seats.

The third variant is a single multi-seat electoral district-rayon. The number of its seats determines the size of the rayon's party organization, and nominations to them take place in accordance with all the rayon's Communists.

The decision to accept this or that variant is made independently in each rayon. Only the specific nature of the rayon party organization, its size, structure, and makeup are taken into consideration.

In the majority of the rayons they have created single-seat districts for electing deputies to the congress. In some rayons they are creating both single-seat and multi-seat districts, and in four rayons (Volgogradskiy, Khoro-shevskiy, Gagarinskiy, and Zheleznodorozhnyy) they have formed a united single-seat district-rayon.

In addition, several of the largest party organizations such as the ZIL automobile factory and Moscow State University have been granted the right to decide the issue themselves of forming their districts.

[Kosarev] The representation quota for the 28th CPSU Congress is one delegate per 4,000 party members, and at the city party conference—one delegate per 1,000 Communists. Must the number of Communists in the electoral districts exactly correspond to these numbers?

[Prokofyev] That is, of course, impossible. The districts, as a rule, are formed according to sectoral features, and deviation from the established number is allowed. It is a question of how large these deviations may be. The resolution of this issue is under the jurisdiction of the CPSU raykoms and the rayon electoral commissions. We would consider it expedient for these deviations not to exceed 10-15 percent. And, of course, the general number of delegates from the rayon party organization should not exceed what has been calculated from the number of the rayon's Communists and the representation quotas.

[Kosarev] What is the system for nominating candidates for delegate?

[Prokofyev] I should emphasize that every Communist of the party organization that is conducting a nomination assembly has the right to nominate.

I often hear the question: Can a Communist who is not registered in a given organization be nominated as a candidate, and how many candidates can be nominated in general? All these issues should be reflected in those normative documents for conducting the elections of delegates, which are being approved by the plenums of the CPSU raykoms.

In our view, if the right to nominate candidates is granted to a workshop party organization as well, with the status of a local organization, then you can go by the rule of "one party organization—one candidate." In addition, this party organization should be a part of the given electoral district.

And one more rule: Each candidate can only run in one electoral district. The rayon and city electoral commissions are obligated to keep an eye on this.

Only members of the CPSU take part in the voting, but candidate members of the party may take part in the nomination and discussion of candidates.

Party organizations belonging to a district have the right to conduct assemblies (conferences) to support a candidate nominated at the district.

During the pre-election campaign the party organizations which have nominated and supported the nomination of a candidate may create support groups to campaign for his election and issue election programs and leaflets.

[Kosarev] How should the process of voting itself be organized?

[Prokofyev] It closely resembles the way voting is conducted in elections to the soviets of people's deputies.

The precinct electoral commission organizes the secret balloting and the counting of votes. The ballots are distributed on the basis of a list of communists of a given district upon presentation of the party membership card.

The electoral commission should guarantee Communists who are absent on election day for valid reasons the opportunity to vote, by means of advance voting if necessary.

The elections are considered to have taken place if more than half of the members of the CPSU registered with the party organizations of the district have taken part.

[Kosarev] And how many last names and candidates can be left on the ballot for it to be considered valid?

[Prokofyev] That question is decided by the CPSU raykom or the rayon electoral commission in advance and all the Communists of the rayon should be informed of the decision. Two variants are possible here: Either the number of candidates left on the ballot should not exceed the number of seats for the district, or it is possible to leave any number of candidates, including none.

[Kosarev] How are the results of the voting summed up, and how are the results of the election determined?

[Prokofyev] The procedure for counting votes and forming the results of the voting are also similar to the corresponding procedures in elections to the soviets.

A candidate is considered elected when he has received more votes than the other candidates but not less than half of the votes from the CPSU members taking part in the voting.

We anticipate that many candidates for delegate will be nominated. Most probably in the majority of instances no single candidate in the district will receive the necessary number of votes at the first attempt and a second round of voting will be required. In that event only the two candidates who have received the most votes will be entered on the election ballot in a single-seat district. In a multi-seat district the number of candidates will depend on the number of seats remaining free and should be determined in advance by the CPSU raykom or the rayon electoral commission. For instance, this number may equal the number of free seats plus one or the number of free seats multiplied by two. Here it is important to guarantee multi-candidate elections.

If neither of the candidates has received more than half of the votes during a runoff election, then the issue of electing delegates to the free seat is handed over to the rayon party conference for examination. In this instance it is advisable to conduct a by-election from the number of candidates nominated by the local party organizations.

Some Communists propose to consider a candidate elected during the second round if he has received a significant majority of the votes. But such a proposal

cannot be adopted because it is written in a decree of the March CPSU Central Committee Plenum that a delegate must be elected by an absolute majority of votes.

It is also hardly advisable to conduct repeat elections because the elected delegates should have a sufficient amount of time to take direct part in preparations for the 28th Congress and the city party conference. As a result the CPSU Moscow Gorkom Plenum has made the decision on the whole to conclude the elections of delegates in the districts by 10 May.

[Kosarev] And a final question: How and when is the report and election campaign in the city party organization supposed to be conducted.

[Prokofyev] I would like to note that on this issue the CPSU Central Committee Plenum is meeting the wishes of numerous people and has granted the local party organs the right to define the procedure and time for conducting reports and elections themselves.

We discussed this issue in detail at the CPSU Moscow Gorkom Plenum. As a result of the discussion the decision was made to conduct the city party conference on 1-2 June and dedicate it only to pre-congress issues. The gorkom plenum recommended that the rayon party organizations conduct similar conferences as well.

As for reports and elections in the rayons, the right has been granted to the local party organizations and the CPSU raykoms to determine their dates themselves.

According to the information we have, the majority of the local organizations and CPSU raykoms plan to conduct reports and elections after the party congress. On the other hand, report-back and election conferences will take place before the congress in Sevastopolskiy and Kuntsevskiy rayons and at Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov.

I also wish to report that the city electoral commission begins working this week. We will communicate information about its makeup, its hours, and telephone numbers in the near future.

#### **Moscow Soviet Otechestvo Member Interview**

90UN1602A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA  
in Russian 12 Apr 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Moscow Soviet member V.S. Chetverikov by VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA correspondent Yu. Kazarin: "We Are the 'Otechestvo' Group"]

[Text] The deputies' group "Otechestvo" [Fatherland] is one of the factions being formed now in the new Moscow Soviet. At the request of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA readers one of our correspondents met with V.S. Chetverikov, Moscow Soviet people's deputy, member of the organization committee for the preparation of the first

session, and docent of the Higher Law Correspondence School under the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs].

[Kazarin] Vitaliy Stefanovich, what kind of a group is the "Otechestvo" group to which you belong? What are the foundations of its ideology?

[Chetverikov] I can say that we express the position held by the "Otechestvo" society when it was registered a year ago by the Moscow Soviet. It was created as a society for the cultural and spiritual revival of Russia. Last May its first conference elected a council and board of the society and set the guidelines for its activity. The conference materials were published in a special newsletter as well as in issue No 10 of the MOLODAYA GVARDIYA magazine for 1989.

Both the society and the deputies' group aim to help to educate the people in the international spirit and to encourage their political activity. Our effort is targeted at the cultural and historic, economic, ecological, and demographic revival of the Russian people and other ethnic groups of Russia. Our fatherland is the highest value.

I would like to quote M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin who, I think expressed the essence of the patriotic movement very well. He wrote that patriotism is of great educational value. It is a school which develops a person so that he can accept the concept of humanity. You cannot be a parasite and a patriot at the same time or in turns, that is a patriot today and a crook tomorrow. Each person should remain in his place when doing his duty.

[Kazarin] Do many deputies belong to "Otechestvo"?

[Chetverikov] There are 12 of us now. But I think that there are no rigid barriers between the four deputies' groups in the council. Deputies who are not part of our group also display an interest in the tasks we set for ourselves; we all work together.

[Kazarin] Which tasks do you think the Moscow Soviet should attack first?

[Chetverikov] Along with the economic and social problems we have the task of restoring Moscow as the historic center of culture. To achieve this we have to provide adequate socio-economic and material and technical conditions. The restoration of the historic and cultural monuments, for instance, should not be done as charity or during subbotniks, which is not sufficient, but through state investments.

In our methods we, the deputies and the "Otechestvo" society do not support rallies. Rallies only help the outpouring of emotions but they do not serve to resolve any problems. But the state of our country and of Moscow is on the verge of a crisis. And one should offer some serious measures to change the economic and social situation only while empathizing with the people and with their sorrows. If you are indifferent to that, if

you observe the moments of history as an outsider than you do not have the moral right to give any advice.

The deputies of our group stand for the creation of a permanent Moscow Soviet commission for culture, national revival, and preservation of historic monuments. We are convinced of the necessity of such a commission.

#### **New Moscow Soviet Gives Press Conference**

90UN1483A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*  
in Russian 12 Apr 90 p 2

[S. Kucher and S. Brilev report: "A Multiparty System in the Moscow Soviet?"]

[Text] On the eve of the first session of the new Moscow soviet its deputies gave a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

Apparently the results of the recent elections are not to everyone's liking. For the first time since the time of military communism a nontraditional disposition of forces has been shaped in the soviet. It was with these words that A. Pankov, member of the organizing committee for the session, opened the press conference. Despite the fact that 60 percent of the newly elected deputies are in the CPSU, the "Moscow" group supporting the platform of the Communist Party Moscow City Committee numbers only 94 people. Let me remind you that there are 464 seats in the Moscow soviet.

Member of the "Moscow" group V. Anfilov was included in the conversation. It seems to him that the deputies representing the "Democratic Russia" bloc, incidentally, are the first to have created a faction in the Moscow soviet, and are introducing into the work of Moscow's legislators an excessive politicization, calling the "Moscow" group the protector of the interests of party autocracy.

In fact most of the deputies included in our association are leaders of various rank. But you can be sure that they are people who have many years' experience of creativity. They also include workers.

Speaking about the positions of the group, V. Anfilov talked about the unacceptable nature of a forced switch of the national economy to a market economy.

As is known, the majority of deputy seats in the capital's soviet (292) belong to representatives of the "Democratic Russia" bloc, whose ideas virtually totally match the aspirations of the interregional group of USSR people's deputies.

Despite the fact that the composition of the Moscow soviet is quite varied, we are all united in the desire to work together. This is encouraging, said E. Bakirov, member of the "Democratic Russia" bloc.

However, his colleague V. Shakhnovskiy continued, we are separated by our different understanding of the ways

to resolve problems in the city's development. But good relations have already been established with the executive committee [ispolkom], which is still continuing its work.

The democratically elected session organizing committee chosen at the meeting of deputies also includes representatives of numerically small groups of people's representatives: the "Homeland" Union, which has set itself the goal of reviving the culture of Russia, and the independents. The latter were represented at the press conference by I. Krugovykh.

Under the conditions of the actual split of the Moscow soviet along the lines of "Democratic Russia"- "Moscow" we have deliberately and voluntarily banded together in a group that is independent of all three rival trends. We now number 50; we are not chasing after numbers because it is first and foremost quality that decides everything.

In our view democracy is for everyone rather than for each group in isolation. We all now lack a truly independent press. It seems to us that one important step toward creating this is the transformation of *VECHERNYAYA MOSKA* into the extradepartmental newspaper *MOSKOVSKIYE IZVESTIYA*.

What priority steps will the soviet take to improve the lives of Muscovites?

There was the illusion that we could expect immediate changes for the better, Ye. Kotova thinks. But in principle we must in the immediate future take stock of the housing inventory and certify uninhabitable premises and territories, and also rescind the Moscow soviet resolution on the interim procedure for the operation of cooperatives in the city. There are problems with the refugees from various parts of the country, and with the adoption of an interim procedure for registering new printed publications and sociopolitical organizations.

Yes, many problems have built up in the city. And only sure and precise work by the Moscow soviet will help to overcome them. But will all deputies be able to unite their efforts, given the wide range of their political views? Will they be able to find a common language in the process of their joint work? As they say, we shall see.

#### **Moscow Soviet Apparatchiks View Future**

90UN1404B Moscow *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA*  
in Russian No 14, 4 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by A. Kakotkin: "They Expect To Stay on Their Feet"]

[Text] Are big changes coming to the Moscow Soviet? For the time being it is difficult to answer this question with a simple "yes" or a categorical "no." But in any case one thing is known: New forces have come to power in the capital, and one already sometimes hears the bellicose calls of the newly elected deputies "to find the place that the apparat of the Moscow Soviet deserves."



What is left for the workers of the Moscow Soviet? Our correspondent addressed the same question to several officials of the apparat: Do you fear for your future with the change of power?

S.I. Veselovskiy, head of the general department of the Moscow Soviet executive committee:

"I have already worked 16 years in the system of the Moscow Soviet, and I have seen much. There are only two people like me. I am calm about the upcoming changes and feel fairly confident. If the new authorities will evaluate people according to their qualities as efficient workers, I do not think that I am threatened with dismissal. In case of an unpleasant outcome, I will still have work. I can work as the deputy administrator of a trust or an economist-manager in a joint enterprise. They respect education and experience."

S.A. Zavalov, assistant deputy chairman of the executive committee:

"In principle I support the platform of the 'Democratic Russia' bloc, although I understand what it might cost me. To say that I look upon the immediate future with optimism would be to sin against the truth. Speaking honestly, I do not want to leave. If such a thing happens, it will not be so terrible. By specialty I am a road-builder, and I believe there will be enough roads to construct in our times."

V.D. Shvagin, reviewer of a section:

"I would say that we are in a position of complete uncertainty. For the time being we are ignorant of the new structure, the staffs, etc. My personal prospects are similarly unknown. As you understand, I, a classic apparatchik, am not burning with a desire to go, for example, to the ZIL [Moscow Automobile Factory imeni I.A. Likhachev] as a fitter, and all the more because I have personal experience of such work. If it happens, I will try to use my knowledge in a humanities specialty: At one time I worked as a teacher of scientific communism. But in general we will not have much choice. Apparently I will go wherever they send me."

V.M. Shvydko, chief specialist of the department of social development:

"My chances of being spared are practically zero for the immediate future. Before my transfer to the Moscow Soviet I worked in a party gorkom [city party committee], and our new deputies should have a look at my papers as they decide my fate. By specialty I am a construction engineer, but I have no idea regarding my future work."

### Need To Define Moscow's Special Status

90UNI7031 Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA  
in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 1

[Report on interview with G.Kh. Popov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, conducted by Yu. Kazarin; on 7 April in Moscow: "These Complex Relations"]

[Text] It was decided on Saturday to examine the question of deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet.

G.Kh. Popov, who had been elected chairman of the soviet a day earlier, proposed for this office Sergey Borisovich Stankevich, people's deputy of the USSR and the Moscow City Soviet.

The candidate spoke, briefly setting forth his program, and answered questions. A number of deputies spoke in support of the nomination. A secret ballot was then held.

S.B. Stankevich was elected deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies. Some 332 votes were cast in his favor.

On Saturday the deputies were briefed by P.S. Bogdanov, chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration, on the criminogenic situation in the city and the state of the fight against crime.

The decision to hold on May Day a march and mass meeting of representatives of public organizations in Sovetskaya Square at the Moscow City Soviet building was adopted.

A commission for the festive measures in Moscow on 1 and 9 May was formed.

In the evening the deputies' press group organized the first press conference of the chairman of the Moscow City Soviet and his deputy for Soviet and foreign journalists.

G.Kh. Popov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, answered, inter alia, questions from the VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA correspondent.

[Kazarin] Speaking as a candidate for the office of chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, you spoke of the need for the formulation of a program for Moscow's development and the city's extrication from the crisis. How do you evaluate the "Progress-95" program, which has already been prepared?

[Popov] Other programs have been drawn up also. I have a dual attitude toward them. On the one hand a great deal of analytical work, calculations, and so forth have been done. At the same time, however, all these programs were compiled proceeding from notions that the country's economic mechanism with administrative centralized planning would remain invariable. Some people, therefore, would decide questions connected with the concentration of resources, money, and so forth. These are not programs which can be realized in a city in which enterprises will be independent and will depend in their activity only on themselves. For this reason I believe it necessary to use the experience of elaboration of these programs, but we need in principle to proceed from the fact that both Moscow and the country will be living in a new economic system.

[Kazarin] How do you see the day-to-day, working relationships of the chairman of the Moscow City Soviet and the chairman of the gorispolkom [city executive committee]?

There is no experience in the country of some creative mutual relations of a soviet of our type with the ispolkom [executive committee]. We will therefore have to learn. On the one hand it is perfectly obvious that many deputies of the Moscow City Soviet will be very active—as distinct from previous ones—participate in the work of the ispolkom, monitor it and enter into its problems. This is a plus. It will also be a plus that the deputies will in a number of cases cover, conditionally speaking, for the officials of the ispolkom who display initiative and are prepared to take risks.

At the same time, however, I foresee difficulties. They consist of not detaching the ispolkom officials from their work systematically and constantly. This is the first difficulty. The second is that the ispolkom should have relative independence in its work; otherwise it cannot be required to be responsible for its actions. If each week it is somehow directed, a situation which we know well from the relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers could arise. Leaders of the government and ministers are forced to be present the whole while in the Supreme Soviet from a fear of coming under some supervision.

How to find the way out here, how not to sink into these two extremes: On the one hand cooperation, on the other, the independence and self-sufficiency of the work of the ispolkom and its responsibility are not yet entirely clear. But it is we who will have to look for some solutions.

[Kazarin] As a legislative initiative, the gorkom [city party committee] recently drew up a draft law on the status of Moscow. What is your attitude toward this bill?

[Popov] I believe that the idea of the law itself is very good. But the document which has been prepared is, in my view, entirely unconstructive. It amounts essentially to slogans and appeals. For example, the case of the presidential edict, which has only just been published, concerning the center of Moscow shows graphically that such problems are simply not catered for in this law. But it should regulate them.

Therefore, it seems to me that while taking this idea as a starting point, we need to work with a large number of specific issues. In the real life in which we will now be living we do not need slogans, we need to know absolutely firmly: Does the land in the center of the city, say, belong to the Moscow City Soviet or not? And if so, we should be charging both the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, all of whose buildings are located here. If not, then consequently it is envisaged that some special agreement which says that Moscow, in view of the fact that it has been defined as the country's capital, is obliged to make available to all the departments located therein all that they need. Then the latter, in turn, must also determine in what amounts and how they will participate in the life and development of Moscow.

I, for example, believe that the decision concerning the 9 May military parade is a perfectly normal and legal decision. But, on the other hand, what sums should the city spend to repair the streets afterward and so on and so forth? All these questions, I do not say how, should necessarily be decided in the law on the status of Moscow. And the agreements should be with two governments since Moscow is the center not only of the Union but of Russia also. There should be separate agreements.

We attach immense significance to the law on the status of Moscow. We understand the concern of the president, who adopted the edict on regulation of mass activities on Moscow territory within the Green Belt. But the law has to regulate some problems. Something else is clear also: We cannot solve problems "piecemeal," we cannot decide the question of marches and demonstrations within the Green Belt and not tackle the dozens of problems closely and strictly connected with it. I would think that we need to regulate everything together. Although, if these issues are complex, we could adopt a temporary decision also. But the questions must be regulated legally....

G.Kh. Popov and S.B. Stankevich also answered many other questions concerning the Moscow City Soviet's relations with the Moscow Gorkom [City Party Committee] and with the mass media as well.

The session today is to study and adopt an agenda determining work in the future.

#### **Prokofyev Interviewed on Moscow Soviet**

90UN1687B Moscow *VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA* in Russian 6 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, by *VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA* correspondents V. Gordin and A. Russovski; date and place not specified: "Social Protection of Muscovites Is the Goal"]

[Text][*VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA*] Time flies. There have been so many events... However, we are sure that one of them is special for Muscovites. Elections to the local soviets are behind us. To our mind, the situation in the city has changed radically. The first session of the new composition of the Moscow City Soviet is going to convene on 16 April. Various deputies have been elected. This leads us to expect new, unusual forms and content of work in the soviet...

[Prokofyev] I would like to correct you a little right away. The situation in the city has not changed radically. The deputy corps of the Moscow Soviet has. I repeat, the situation in the city remains the way it used to be, with all of its unsolved problems, complications, the worsening shortage of goods, barren store shelves, progressing inflation, a growing gap between wage increases and the goods to be purchased with them. All of this is associated with the general complex situation in our country.

The unresolved housing issue has not gone away. The capacity of the construction organizations of the city has not increased just because the composition of the Moscow Soviet has changed. The situation with mass transit has not changed: There are still crowds during the rush hour waiting for buses and trolley buses, still the increasingly more frequent disruptions in the operation of the subway. The number of buses and the length of subway lines have not increased.

This is why for now we may only refer to a radical, serious change in the composition of the Moscow Soviet: Out of its 498 deputies, only 12 are workers; there are very few experienced, knowledgeable leaders over there. Employees of scientific-research and design institutes—scientific associates, senior and leading engineers—account for the bulk of the deputies.

[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] Undoubtedly, the absence of workers in the soviet is a drawback. However, won't this high intellectual level, the presence of a considerable number of scientists, influence the work of the soviet favorably?

[Prokofyev] As initial organizational meetings have shown, these are undoubtedly people who sincerely strive to work and resolve the issues accumulated in the city; but they do not have a sufficient grasp of the set of problems that have accumulated. This is why I want to say once again that the situation in Moscow has not changed and, if you will, it has even deteriorated due to mounting crisis phenomena in the city and our country as a whole.

[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] So, are the deputies ill-equipped to resolve the issues they have inherited?

[Prokofyev] I would not say that the entire body of deputies is ill-equipped to do this. Thus, there is an experienced economist there, Gavril Kharitonovich Popov, a scientist such as Sergey Borisovich Stankevich, and a number of other people who are competent and well-prepared for this significant work. We also have practitioners there; from among them I may mention First Secretaries of party rayon committees Aleksey Mikheyevich Bryachikhin and Vladimir Mikhaylovich Syrtsov. Deputies have also been elected who have considerable experience in economic and political work. Therefore, the experience of the body of deputies is a relative notion. We cannot say that only enthusiasts have gathered there. There are deputies in the new composition of the Moscow Soviet whose thinking is broad and who have experience. Nonetheless, I would consider a combination of experience, competence, and enthusiasm to be very important. If this comes about, this combination will allow us to secure the necessary result.

[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] Current deputies are not beginning, as they say, with a clean slate. There is no argument that the previous Moscow Soviet was not able to accomplish many things, and it did not accomplish them. The 1990 Moscow Soviet has received a sorry

inheritance. Yet, a lot was accomplished; a certain base consisting of programs, long-range plans, and drafts also amounts to sizable capital.

[Prokofyev] Of course, it would be incredibly difficult to begin with a clean slate. I have already mentioned on one occasion how a speech by Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies became etched in my memory. At the time he said approximately the following: What kind of an unfortunate country, which begins everything anew time after time, are we?

Indeed, it is only possible to develop and get ahead if you absorb and proceed from everything positive that was created in previous years. Such a cumulative base is available in Moscow as well. It cannot be discounted by any means.

On the other hand, many programs and plans will be revised and made more specific. The rapidly changing economic situation in our country, the adoption of new laws, and the accelerated implementation of reforms proposed by the government are the main causes of such changes. I will say bluntly that programs previously developed by the Moscow Soviet were designed for a planned economy. As far as I am aware of the situation, in the months to come an accelerated transition to market methods of economic operations will be in store for us. Enterprises are going to plan themselves what to produce, how much, and what prices to set for goods and services. They are going to determine themselves who their products are to be delivered to, where to buy raw materials, and who to share production with. The rights of industrial enterprises and municipal economic organizations will be expanded and actually implemented.

Of course, all of this will complicate even more the resolution of the city's problems, especially at the initial stage.

I can imagine the additional complications the Moscow Soviet is going to encounter in the process of implementing its plans. After all, many enterprises are going to act primarily in the interest of their collective rather than the city. This is why I would consider the development of economic methods for resolving the issues of Moscow to be an important task now. We have some experience in this sphere—in the fruit and vegetable trade, strange as it may be. Muscovites must have noticed that lately thousands of people have not been sent to vegetable storage facilities under a quota system between seasons; an economic arrangement has been found. At present, the wage fund is allotted to the facilities on the basis of the vegetables and fruit handled rather than its staff levels. The facilities have now begun to handle the entire workload themselves. Apparently, similar economic prescriptions should be found for other branches of the city economy as well.

[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] Let us refer once again to the difficult inheritance. Do you think that the deputies will overcome the difficulties?

[Prokofyev] Predictions, especially in our time, are a quite thankless endeavor, all the more so because the leaders of the new soviet do not have their programs yet. Everything is going to depend not only on how radical the plans are, but also on how realistic they are. At present it is very important not to give numerous bold promises. As is known, many people have lost their prestige for this reason. Let me refer, for example, to the promise to give every Moscow family a gardening lot. After all, it was clear that this is simply impossible. Firstly, the city does not control land in the vicinity of Moscow. Secondly, all cultivated land within the second beltway should be actually taken up by these millions of gardening lots.

At present, all programs should be extremely well-balanced and as realistic as can be.

[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] It is clear that the life of the deputies is not going to be easy; they will have to work under difficult conditions. How do you see the role of the city party organization in this situation?

[Prokofyev] Our goals are common. Taking care of Muscovites, making sure that their lives become easier, better, and more comfortable. We should relieve their stress of recent years, boost their confidence in the future, and bolster it by actual deeds. This objective definitely unites us, and the party organizations are prepared to act together with the entire corps of deputies.

We have already led the way by developing a draft new law on the status of the capital city and considering it at the latest meeting of the gorkom [city party committee]. This document was published in the press. The CPSU enjoys the right of legislative initiative. Personally, I believe that a law on the status of our city is necessary in order for Moscow to develop harmoniously and not to be dependent on the interests and attitudes of ministries and individual enterprises. In this case, Moscow will enjoy the rights that at present only the central organs enjoy. Our draft was developed in cooperation with scientists; it will be submitted for a discussion at the Moscow Soviet.

In the future the city CPSU organization, in cooperation with Communist deputies, will participate in developing programs to reinvigorate the economy of the city and reinforce the social protection of all citizens, especially low-income families, the handicapped, retirees, and war veterans. We intend to introduce pertinent proposals at sessions of the Moscow Soviet.

I hope that the Communists of the city will support all reasonable, realistic initiatives regardless of their sponsor.

We have a common goal, and all of our work in the future will hinge on this. I do not rule out different approaches and opinions, and disputes—this is a normal working environment which guarantees an extensive

quest for alternative ways of overcoming the critical condition. Only in such an environment may an optimal solution be found.

[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] Yuriy Anatolyevich, when you were elected first secretary of the gorkom you said that in the immediate future two tasks may be accomplished which do not call for additional capital investment—keeping the city clean and orderly, and arresting the increase in crime. In your opinion, have these tasks been accomplished?

[Prokofyev] Let me begin with the second task. I believe that the growth curve of violations of the law in the city has stabilized. To be sure, this is a far cry from order; however, it is gratifying that the curve has not only stopped climbing but has been dropping.

As far as the first task is concerned, I will admit that it has not been accomplished. No changes can be secured within the framework of the old command system. In this area, good economic arrangements are also required; after all, people are paid in the city for reporting to work, for the hours spent in the office, at a desk, in the cabin of a snow plow, an asphalt spreader, and so on. Incidentally, in Kalininskiy Rayon they have already switched to leasing and contractual relations, and street cleaning issues are becoming a thing of the past. We should find such economic arrangements everywhere. I am certain that the deputy corps will also be able to accomplish many other tasks in the city proceeding from such arrangements.

[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] In your opinion, when will Muscovites be able to perceive the first results of the activities of the new body of deputies? When will life become at least a little bit easier than it is today for all of us?

[Prokofyev] This is a very difficult question; however, I understand that it concerns all Muscovites. More predictions...

What can we do—belief in a "kind master," a good leader, and in this case the omnipotent Moscow Soviet, lingers in all of us. However, the final result depends on how we cope with building a new economic system and how we use economic incentives instead of the old command ones. Everything depends on our labor and, though this may be a hackneyed phrase, nobody will do any of our work for us.

Still, I will not evade an answer. Speaking honestly and realistically—we should not expect quick results. Our transition to market relations in the immediate future will be a most complex and painful process. I am sure that even greater difficulties await us during this period of time. We will be able to arrive at the desired standard of living only having gone through them, through some unpopular measures (I am not going to be specific in this instance), through breaking customary stereotypes and the economic system itself, and through diligent work.



[VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA] What city problems do you consider to be the most urgent?

[Prokofyev] In a word, social problems. They should be solved through changes in the investment policy and the allocation of funds to capital construction. This is the most serious segment which, among other things, makes it possible to solve the housing problem without making the appearance of our city ugly and with its future in view. In all of this, by housing I mean not just furnishing the square meters for Muscovites but rather creating the entire infrastructure: shops, athletic facilities, cinemas, cultural and health-care establishments, transportation, and so on are necessary at the same time. Only with such a comprehensive approach will we be taking care of the entire variety of human life through actual deeds rather than words. This is the first point.

Secondly, in the environment of a market economy measures for the social protection of the low-income strata of the population are necessary. We have 2 million retirees and 1.6 million children; there are numerous families with many children, and war and labor veterans. They will not withstand the pressure of market relations without a lot of help from the state and the city authorities.

### **Leningrad Oblast, City Election Results**

90UN1413A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 90 p 3

[List of people's deputies of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet elected on 4 March]

[Text] Today we continue publication of the report of the Leningrad Oblast Electoral Commission on the results of the elections of people's deputies of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet on 4 March. Simultaneously the newspaper VECHERNYY LENINGRAD is familiarizing Leningraders with the results of the individual voting for candidates for deputy of the Leningrad City Soviet.

However, impatient readers, unable to wait for the final publication of all these lists, are demanding that we make a sample of them and promptly report which candidates have already become people's deputies of the oblast soviet and the Leningrad City Soviet. We would remind the readers that there are few such as yet. According to the results of the 4 March elections, 75 of the 250 seats have been filled in the Leningrad Oblast Soviet, and of the 400 deputy's seats in the Leningrad City Soviet, only 31 have been filled.

### **Leningrad Oblast Soviet: 75 out of 250**

Arkhipov, Aleksandr Vasilyevich, born 1944, member of the CPSU, director of the "Pashshkiy" Sovkhoz [State Farm], lives in the village of Potapino of Volkhovskiy Rayon. District 34.

Aksenov, Mikhail Nikolayevich, born 1947, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the

Volosovskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in the Volosovo Community. District 17.

Alekseyev, Sergey Viktorovich, born 1951, member of the CPSU, director of Vyborg High School No 8, lives in Vyborg. District 67.

Antonov, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, born 1949, member of the CPSU, first secretary of the Luga Gorkom [City Party Committee], lives in Luga. District 187.

Baranikhin, Anatoliy Yemelyanovich, born 1938, member of the CPSU, director of the "Niva" Sovkhoz, lives in the Yelizavetino Community of Gatchinskiy Rayon. District 112.

Blagovestov, Boris Aleksandrovich, born 1946, member of the CPSU, chief of the front office of the "Druzhnaya Gorka" Plant, lives in the Druzhnaya Gorka Community of Gatchinskiy Rayon. District 109.

Balitskiy, Andrey Veniaminovich, born 1957, non-party, doctor at the Tikhvin Central District Hospital, lives in Tikhvin. District 228.

Balbyshev, Viktor Vasilyevich, born 1949, member of the CPSU, director of the "Rossiya" Sovkhoz, lives in Kingisepp. District 134.

Bogdanov, Yakov Yakovlevich, born 1947, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Slantsy City Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in Slantsy. District 205.

Bryndin, Viktor Tikhonovich, born 1948, member of the CPSU, director of the "Petrovskiy" State Pedigree Breeding Plant, lives in the Sosnovo Community of Priozerskiy Rayon. District 203.

Bochkarev, Boris Kirillovich, born 1937, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Nikolskiy Community Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in the Nikolskoye Community of Tosnenskiy Rayon. District 245.

Bondareva, Raisa Aleksandrovna, born 1951, member of the CPSU, weaver at the Narvaskaya Flax-Jute Factory, lives in the city of Ivangorod of Kingiseppskiy Rayon. District 132.

Brakhno, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, born 1942, member of the CPSU, chief engineer of Leningrad Oblast's "Lenavtodor" Design Repair and Construction Association, lives in Leningrad. District 193.

Borisov, Vadim Andreyevich, born 1940, member of the CPSU, director of the Luga Abrasives Plant, lives in Luga. District 175.

Belov, Ivan Fedorovich, born 1937, member of the CPSU, deputy general director of the "Lenavtotrans" Automotive Transport Territorial Production Association, lives in Leningrad. District 183.

Volkov, Aleksey Alekseyevich, born 1950, non-party, deputy chief of a division of the Boksitogorsk Plant of the Pikalevskoye "Glinozem" Alumina Production Association imeni 50-letiya SSSR, lives in Boksitogorsk. District 1.

Vikhrov, Konstantin Ilich, born 1958, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Zanevskiy Rural Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in Vsevolozhsk. District 48.

Gornak, Vladimir Nesterovich, born 1949, member of the CPSU, director of the "Volkhovskiy" Sovkhoz, lives in the village of Staraya Ladoga of Volkhovskiy Rayon. District 28.

Grigoryev, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, born 1941, member of the CPSU, director of the "Vinnitskiy" Sovkhoz, lives in the village of Vinnitsy of Podporozhskiy Rayon. District 194.

Devyatkin, Yevgeniy Grigoryevich, born 1949, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Tikhvin City Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in Tikhvin. District 230.

Yerokhov, Boris Aleksandrovich, born 1932, member of the CPSU, chief physician of the Zaborye District Hospital, lives in the Zaborye Community of Boksitogorskiy Rayon. District 11.

Zheltoy, Gennadiy Nikolayevich, born 1957, non-party, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Kommunarovskiy Community Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in the Kommunar Community of Gatchinskiy Rayon. District 107.

Ivanov, Vasily Vasilyevich, born 1950, member of the CPSU, editor of the newspaper ZNAMYA TRUDA of Slantsevskiy Rayon, lives in Slantsy. District 207.

Karapetyants, Vladimir Sergeyevich, born 1942, member of the CPSU, general director of the "Syaglitsy" Sovkhoz Production Association, lives in the village of Begunitsy of Volosovskiy Rayon. District 15.

Kostin, Ivan Mikhaylovich, born 1939, member of the CPSU, director of the Volkhov S.M. Kirov Aluminum Plant, lives in Volkhov. District 22.

Kolomenskiy, Sergey Afanasyevich, born 1939, member of the CPSU, engineer of the "Krasnaya Slavyanka" Experimental-Production Farm, lives in the Kommunar Community of Gatchinskiy Rayon. District 105.

Kudryashov, Aleksandr Viktorovich, born 1960, member of the CPSU, engineer at the Leningrad B.P. Konstantinov Nuclear Physics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, lives in Gatchina. District 100.

Kovalishin, Igor Feodosyevich, born 1930, member of the CPSU, pensioner, lives in the Sertolovo Community of Vsevolozhskiy Rayon. District 58.

Kalamarchuk, Ivan Iosifovich, born 1949, member of the CPSU, commander of a battalion of the Lomonosov Aviation Engineering School, lives in the Lebyazhe Community of Lomonosovskiy Rayon. District 166.

Kukushkin, Viktor Yevgenyevich, born 1946, member of the CPSU, first secretary of the Kirovskiy Gorkom, lives in Kirovsk. District 153.

Kovalev, Vasily Filippovich, born 1945, member of the CPSU, chairman of the board of the Leningrad Oblast Council of Consumer Cooperatives, lives in Leningrad. District 180.

Kozlova, Galina Mikhaylovna, born 1953, member of the CPSU, economist at the Petrokrepostnaya "Mir" Garment Factory, lives in the city of Petrokrepost of Kirovskiy Rayon. District 148.

Klementyev, Vladimir Fedorovich, born 1950, member of the CPSU, engineer at the "Uran" Science-Production Association, lives in Priozersk. District 195.

Kalmykov, Aleksandr Fedorovich, born 1935, member of the CPSU, senior physician of the Tikhvin Central District Hospital, lives in Tikhvin. District 225.

Ledovskikh, Anatoliy Alekseyevich, born 1947, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Gatchinskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in Gatchina. District 117.

Likhachev, Vladimir Sergeyevich, born 1946, member of the CPSU, director of the "Lomonosovskaya" Poultry Factory, lives in the village of Gorbunki of Lomonosovskiy Rayon. District 170.

Leykin, Semen Borisovich, born 1941, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Shugozerskiy Rural Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in the Shugozero Community of Tikhvinskiy Rayon. District 233.

Merkhasin, Mikhail Khananovich, born 1936, member of the CPSU, director of the "Kobralovo" Sovkhoz, lives in Leningrad. District 116.

Meller, Yakov Mikhaylovich, born 1937, member of the CPSU, director of the Syasskiy Pulp and Paper Works, lives in the Syasstroy Community of Volkhovskiy Rayon. District 32.

Minin, Yevgeniy Moiseyevich, born 1939, member of the CPSU, deputy director of the Svirskaya Shipyard, lives in the Nikolskiy Community of Podporozhskiy Rayon. District 192.

Muravyev, Andrey Borisovich, born 1934, member of the CPSU, director of the "Lenstroykeramika" Leningrad Brick Works, lives in the Nikolskoye Community of Tosnenskiy Rayon. District 248.

Novikov, Mikhail Adamovich, born 1934, member of the CPSU, first secretary of the Gatchina Gorkom, lives in Gatchina. District 111.

Nekrasov, Leonid Anatolyevich, born 1937, member of the CPSU, chief of the Sertolovo Industrial Works, lives in the Sertolovo Community of Vsevolzhskiy Rayon. District 57.

Nelyubov, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, born 1946, member of the CPSU, first secretary of the Lomonosovskiy Raykom, lives in Lomonosov. District 167.

Oksyugik, Galina Petrovna, born 1952, member of the CPSU, senior lecturer at the Leningrad M.I. Kalinin Polytechnical Institute, lives in the Sertolovo Community of Vsevolzhskiy Rayon. District 59.

Orlova, Viktoriya Samuilovna, born 1940, member of the CPSU, design engineer of the "Lenprommekhizatsiya" Plant, lives in the city of Otradnoye of Kirovskiy Rayon. District 150.

Petrenko, Vladimir Dmitriyevich, born 1947, member of the CPSU, electrician of the "Burevestnik" Plant, lives in Gatchina. District 98.

Pavlov, Yuriy Anatolyevich, born 1950, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Volkhovskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in Volkhov. District 30.

Poltavchenko, Georgiy Sergeyevich, born 1953, member of the CPSU, chief of the Vyborg City Division of the Leningrad Oblast KGB Administration, lives in Vyborg. District 73.

Perzhenitsa, Viktor Nikolayevich, born 1959, member of the CPSU, chief engineer of the "Gomontovo" Sovkhoz Production Association, lives in the village of Begunitsy of Volosovskiy Rayon. District 18.

Pavlov, Anatoliy Vasilyevich, born 1938, member of the CPSU, secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, lives in Leningrad. District 16.

Petukhov, Aleksandr Petrovich, born 1938, member of the CPSU, director of the Luga Industrial Training Enterprise, lives in Luga. District 179.

Petrunichev, Vladimir Arsent'yevich, born 1942, member of the CPSU, head of a department of the editorial office of Kingiseppskiy Rayon's ZA KOMMUNIZM newspaper, lives in Kingisepp. District 130.

Rulko, Aleksandr Petrovich, born 1955, member of the CPSU, director of the "Svetlana" Sovkhoz, lives in the village of Vyndin Ostrov of Volkhovskiy Rayon. District 29.

Romashin, Valentin Nikolayevich, born 1937, member of the CPSU, director of the "Boksitogorskiy" Sovkhoz, lives in Boksitogorsk. District 10.

Sorochan, Igor Pavlovich, born 1954, member of the CPSU, chief engineer of the "Turboatomgaz" Plant, lives in the village of Novo-Devyatkino of Vsevolzhskiy Rayon. District 61.

Seleznev, Sergey Pavlovich, born 1944, member of the CPSU, chief of staff of the Leningrad Military District, lives in Leningrad. District 182.

Statsenko, Vladimir Borisovich, born 1960, member of the CPSU, teacher at Tosno High School No 2, lives in Tosno. District 235.

Sokkoyev, Mikhail Vasilyevich, born 1948, member of the CPSU, manager of the "Lodeynoyepoleremtekhagropromsnab" Enterprise, lives in Lodeynoye Pole. District 162.

Sazonov, Valeriy Vasilyevich, born 1946, member of the CPSU, director of the "Vostochnyy" Sovkhoz, lives in Tosno. District 237.

Seliverstov, Aleksandr Dmitriyevich, born 1942, member of the CPSU, chief veterinary doctor of the "Rassvet" Sovkhoz, lives in the village of Retyun of Luzhskiy Rayon. District 184.

Troshchenko, Valeriy Semenovich, born 1950, member of the CPSU, chairman of the Slantsy City People's Control Committee, lives in Slantsy. District 212.

Filippov, Aglyam Khamitovich, born 1945, member of the CPSU, chief of a bay of the Boksitogorsk Plant of the Pikalevskoye "Glinozem" Alumina Production Association imeni 50-letiya SSSR, lives in Boksitogorsk. District 4.

Filimonov, Nikolay Ivanovich, born 1938, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Luga City Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in Luga. District 188.

Frayman, Grigoriy Borisovich, born 1935, member of the CPSU, director of the Leningrad "Leningradslanets" Production Association, lives in Slantsy. District 209.

Khudilaynen, Aleksandr Petrovich, born 1956, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Taitskiy Community Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in the Taitsy Community of Gatchinskii Rayon. District 113.

Khabarov, Ivan Filippovich, born 1947, member of the CPSU, first secretary of the Tosno Gorkom, lives in Tosno. District 249.

Tsarev, Vladimir Vitalyevich, born 1954, member of the CPSU, chief animal specialist of the "Budogoshch" Sovkhoz, lives in the Budogoshch Community of Kirishskiy Rayon. District 143.

Chechetkin, Pavel Ivanovich, born 1936, member of the CPSU, director of the "Belkozin" Plant, lives in Luga. District 178.

Shabalin, Nikolay Lavrentyevich, born 1950, member of the CPSU, director of the Lodeynoye Pole Trading Organization, lives in Lodeynoye Pole. District 160.

Sharov, Viktor Nikolayevich, born 1940, non-party, planer "Transmash" Plant, lives in Tikhvin. District 226.

Shirokov, Nikolay Vasilyevich, born 1949, member of the CPSU, director of the Sovkhoz imeni Telman, lives in Tosnenskiy Rayon. District 247.

Yakushev, Viktor Petrovich, born 1949, member of the CPSU, acting director of the Menkovskaya Test Station, lives in Gatchina. District 118.

Yarov, Yuriy Fedorovich, born 1942, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, lives in Leningrad. District 185.

Leningrad City Soviet: 31 Out of 400 [subhead]

Adushev, Vladimir Ivanovich, born 1938, non-party, pilot of the Leningrad Port of the RSFSR Ministry of River Fleet Northwest River Shipping Company, lives in Leningrad. District 289.

Alekseyev, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, born 1939, member of the CPSU, chief of a department of the Yu.V. Andropov Air Defense Higher Political School, lives in Leningrad. District 187.

Bliznetsov, Vladimir Yevgenyevich, born 1951, member of the CPSU, second secretary of the Krasnoselskiy Raykom, lives in Leningrad. District 185.

Borisov, Viktor Kuzmich, born 1947, member of the CPSU, first secretary of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Raykom, lives in Leningrad. District 175.

Vasilyev, Vitaliy Zakharovich, born 1939, member of the CPSU, head of a department of the Leningrad Railroad Transport Engineers Institute, lives in Leningrad. District 33.

Gladkikh, Boris Vasilyevich, born 1939, non-party, head of a department of the All-Union Transport Engineering Research Institute, lives in Leningrad. District 186.

Dybovskiy, Aleksandr Vyacheslavovich, born 1950, member of the CPSU, head of a laboratory of the All-Union Television Research Institute, lives in Leningrad. District 75.

Yeryukhin, Konstantin Alekseyevich, born 1949, member of the CPSU, senior scientific associate of the Maritime Transport Hygiene Research Institute, lives in Leningrad. District 395.

Zubkov, Yuriy Sergeyevich, born 1936, member of the CPSU, deputy chief engineer for comprehensive electronization of the S.M. Kirov "Elektrosila" Association, lives in Leningrad. District 229.

Zybin, Stanislav Fedorovich, born 1941, member of the CPSU, deputy chief of the Higher Political School imeni 60-letiya VLKSM MVD SSSR, lives in Leningrad. District 191.

Ivanov, Aleksandr Alekseyevich, born 1954, non-party, legal adviser of the "Ilich" Plant, lives in Leningrad. District 278.

Ivanov, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, born 1959, member of the CPSU, teacher at School No 491 of Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon, lives in Leningrad. District 181.

Isakov, Leonid Ivanovich, born 1935, non-party, head of a department of the Ministry of Shipbuilding Industry Specialist Improvement Institute, lives in Leningrad. District 323.

Krylov, Andrey Vasilyevich, born 1957, member of the CPSU, junior lecturer of Leningrad's G.V. Plekhanov Mining Institute, lives in Leningrad. District 236.

Kurkova, Bella Alekseyevna, born 1935, member of the CPSU, chief editor of arts broadcasting of the Leningrad Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, lives in Leningrad. District 232.

Lyamin, Yuriy Yuryevich, born 1961, member of the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], engineer of the Marine Electrical Engineering and Technology Central Research Institute, lives in Leningrad. District 248.

Lyaushkin, Igor Aleksandrovich, born 1957, non-party, senior engineer of the Oceanography Institute, lives in Leningrad. District 340.

Malyshev, Valeriy Ivanovich, born 1950, member of the CPSU, chairman of the executive committee of the Moskovskiy Rayon Soviet, lives in Leningrad. District 247.

Messoylidi, Vadim Yuryevich, born 1954, member of the CPSU, senior lecturer of the Rear Services and Transport Military Academy, lives in Leningrad. District 20.

Oshurkov, Andrey Tikhonovich, born 1955, member of the CPSU, chief of the front office of the "Izhorskiy Zavod" Production Association, lives in Kolpino. District 147.

Palmova, Nina Ivanovna, born 1934, non-party, senior lecturer of the M.I. Kalinin Leningrad Polytechnical Institute, lives in Leningrad. District 81.

Rakitskiy, Valeriy Albertovich, born 1948, non-party, engineer at the "Azimut" Science-Production Association, lives in Leningrad. District 342.

Rodimova, Raisa Ivanovna, born 1946, non-party, senior scientific associate of Leningrad's "Okeanpribor" Science-Production Association, lives in Leningrad. District 343.

Rodin, Aleksandr Igorevich, born 1953, non-party, aircraft engineer of Aircraft Engineering Depot 2 of the Leningrad United Air Detachment, lives in Leningrad. District 393.



Safronov, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, born 1940, member of the CPSU, heating engineer of the "Izhorskiy Zavod" Production Association, lives in Leningrad, District 138.

Stepanov, Aleksandr Ivanovich, born 1940, non-party, teacher at School No 535 of Kalininskiy Rayon, lives in Leningrad, District 104.

Sukhotskiy, Andrey Stanislavovich, born 1955, member of the CPSU, senior executive commissioner of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayispolkom [Rayon Soviet Executive Committee] Internal Affairs Administration, lives in Leningrad, District 71.

Tkachenko, Anatoliy Yakovlevich, born 1952, member of the CPSU, investigator of the Leningrad-Moscow Transport Procuracy, lives in Leningrad, District 119.

Torchalovskiy, Andrey Igorevich, born 1960, non-party, physician Substation No 24 of the Leningrad First Aid Station, lives in Leningrad, District 105.

Khizha, Georgiy Stepanovich, born 1938, member of the CPSU, general director of Leningrad's "Svetlana" Electronics Industry Association, lives in Leningrad, District 329.

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### **Leningrad Obkom, Gorkom Hold Joint Plenum**

90UN1667A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 12 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by V. Koshvanets: "A Difficult Choice. The Joint Plenum of the CPSU Obkom and Gorkom"]

[Text] It was not difficult to guess that the open letter from the CPSU Central Committee to the country's communists published on 11 April "For Consolidation on the Basis of Principles" would receive a mixed response not only among rank-and-file party members, but also among the party aktiv. This is too serious a step—ideological and organizational separation—during a period of crisis for the party and the society to take without fear and doubt, without internal dissension and resistance. And how can one forget how the party and the country have repeatedly paid previously for organizational unity and universal purity of thoughts and ideas.

But on the other hand the problem of the split that is discussed in the letter is not fabricated, it exists in reality, it cries out from the pages of newspapers and the podiums of USSR congresses of people's deputies, and it is paralyzing the party's forces.

So take a stand, communists, assume a position. But how can they take a stand when they are not even fully aware of the position of the party leaders, if it is not even fully explained in the open letter of the Central Committee which shifts all the weight of responsibility for possible costs of consolidation on the proposed basis to the shoulders of the

rank-and-file communists, the local party organizations. And in general is it appropriate to separate now, during the course of the preelection discussions? Or perhaps the real cause of the appearance of this letter lies in the continuing struggle for power in the highest echelons of leadership, which nobody considers it necessary to let the broad party masses in on. And why, for the sake of whose ambitions must we make rank-and-file communists suffer?...

All these questions were heard fully, in a truly emotional way yesterday in Smolnyy at the joint plenum of the Leningrad Party Obkom [oblast committee] and Gorkom [city committee] which discussed the open letter of the CPSU Central Committee. Since by a decision of the plenum a detailed report on its work will be published in the next few issues of our newspaper, I shall not relate the statements heard at the plenum. I shall say at the outset that the majority of the speakers rejected the proposal to accept the letter of the Central Committee for complete execution which was fairly clearly formulated in the report of the secretary of the party obkom, A.M. Fateyev.

And the speakers used the most diverse arguments. Some thought that separation, division into "red" and "black," would do nothing but harm. Others, speaking in favor of a purge, suggested that an example of adherence to principle and refusal to compromise was provided for all communists by members of the Central Committee. Others expressed the conviction that the Leningrad party organization is capable of rallying its members without resorting to extreme measures. And still others asserted that separation based on the drafts of the platforms that are being developed and have yet to be developed is simply ridiculous. And almost all of them emphasized that the letter was too late in coming, at least by a half year and perhaps by several years.

The outcome of the discussion was summed up in the decree adopted by the plenum. It was decided to take the letter from the Central Committee under advisement and discuss it in all the local party organizations of Leningrad and the oblast before the combined conference of the Leningrad party organization, having at the same time started pre-congress discussion, particularly consideration of the party platforms that have been made public.

It was also suggested, in keeping with the points of the letter from the Central Committee, to make a fundamental decision about allowing leaders of faction groupings opposed to the CPSU who are leading to a split in it to remain in the party. And, finally, they considered it necessary to hold an extraordinary plenum of the party Central Committee which would provide an example for the entire party of a principled approach to the problem of consolidation through separation.

An unambiguous attitude toward this decree will probably not be found in the Leningrad party organizations either. But one thing is certain: The rank-and-file communists, at least until the plenum, will be able to breathe a sigh of relief: So far there is no need to "purge" one another, if one may put it that way.

And another fundamental issue was raised before the Central Committee at the plenum. The appeal that was adopted contains a demand for the CPSU Central Committee to give an evaluation of possible political and social consequences of changing the country over to a planned market economy.

The plenum considered the provision concerning the procedure for electing delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress from the Leningrad party organization.

A report was heard from the secretary of the CPSU Obkom, Yu.A. Denisov, on the changes in the structure of the Leningrad press and other mass media. The plenum agreed with the political and organizational measures undertaken in this regard by the obkom and the Leningrad Party Gorkom and decided to bring this issue up for consideration by the combined oblast and city party conference.

The deputy chief of the ideological division of the CPSU Central Committee, G.A. Zyuganov, participated in its work.

At the request of participants in the plenum, information on the situation with Leningrad television was provided by a member of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom, the chairman of the committee for television and radio of the Leningrad Oblast and City Ispolkoms [executive committees], B.M. Petrov. It is taken under advisement that this question is being studied by a commission of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

#### **Leningrad Party Appeal to CPSU on Economy**

90UN1667 *Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 1*

[“Appeal to the CPSU Central Committee from the Joint Plenum of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom”]

[Text] Taking into account the forthcoming basic changes in the economic mechanism which affect the interests of the majority of the population, we ask the CPSU Central Committee to make a statement on the question of the possible social consequences of changing the country's economy over to market relations and the political responsibility for its outcome.

*Leningrad Oblast and City Party Committees*

#### **Leningrad Party Plenum Discusses ‘Open Letter’**

90UN1670A *Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Apr 90 pp 1, 2, 3*

[Report by A.M. Fateyev, secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom, and discussion of “Open Letter” by members at the joint meeting of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom: “Consolidation—a Requirement of Perestroyka”]

[Text] **Report by A.M. Fateyev, Secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom [Oblast Party Committee]**

[Text] Today's plenum was convened because of the need to study the open letter of the CPSU Central Committee to communists throughout the country and to develop concrete measures for implementing the ideas and assessments expressed in it. The purpose of the appeal to the communists is to prevent the process of the weakening of the party from developing into a crisis and to mobilize party organizations for constructive work on preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress.

The pre-congress period must be described as extremely complicated. The economic difficulties, the social tension, and the heat of political passions make up the background, which leaves its particular stamp on the situation both within the party and outside it. The greatest mistakes and failures of recent years in implementing the policy of perestroyka proclaimed by the CPSU have seriously undermined the people's faith in the party's ability to lead the country on the path to stable development and has generated doubts about the ideals and presumptions defended by the party.

Under these conditions processes of forming new political structures, right down to political parties, which present alternatives to the CPSU concept of socioeconomic development, are gaining strength. And there is a discussion and reinterpretation of values going on within the party itself. Unfortunately this is not always a creative search directed toward the development of strategy and tactics for building a renewed socialism and democratizing the party.

Certain communists and various kinds of associations and party clubs frequently deny the very communist idea, proclaim Marxist teaching to be wrong, and favor rejecting Lenin's concept of the party. Externally attractive, radical, and promising quick results, the programs of these forces and their leaders, although not known for their realism, are sometimes supported by the public and the voters.

At the same time the CPSU Central Committee and the Leningrad party organization are significantly late in their development of a concept for renewal of the party and society. The program adopted by Leningrad communists in 1989 has not become a consolidating factor in the sociopolitical life of party organizations and all Leningraders mainly because the ideas and principles advocated in it have not been embodied in concrete changes and practical actions. Once again the bureaus of the obkom [oblast party committee] and the Leningrad Gorkom [city party committee] as well as local party organizations have not been persistent and consistent enough in carrying out their own decisions. As usual, many have become complacent, closing their eyes to the fact that the time for political comfort for the CPSU has passed and they must now fight for the position of the leading party.

Now an argument has developed around the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Congress. It is

clear to the majority of communists that in essence at this forum the party must finally define its political image, develop strategic goals, find practical ways of achieving them, and then present them as a political program. It is clear that the congress is the communists' last chance to turn the tide of public opinion in our direction and preserve the socialist direction of perestroika.

Our opponents understand this as well. And this is why they are doing everything they can to disorient public opinion and not allow constructive dialog between communists and non-party members. And this is understandable. But we cannot go on tolerating this kind of perestroika-type within the CPSU ranks forever.

What has been said should not be understood as a call for an immediate party purge based on sympathies for one platform or another. Moreover, the presence of various platforms coexisting on the basis of socialist principles is one of the forms of that dialectical unity without which it is impossible to move forward.

But a platform is a platform. The main thing is to have a clear idea of the real purposes of its creators and adherents.

In today's discussion of the open letter of the CPSU Central Committee attention has been devoted to the activity of individuals rallying around the so-called Democratic Platform. In essence they are not even oriented toward having factions in the party but toward splitting it, dividing it up, and forming social-democracy.

What can one say about this? Up to a certain point compromises with these people have been possible and, moreover, necessary. So far our differences have not gone beyond the framework of fundamental principles whose abandonment would lead to a loss of the political image of the CPSU. The polarity of viewpoints on program and organizational issues concerning party construction has gone beyond the framework of socialist ideas. This is the reality. And this where we must start.

It is being suggested that we recognize both Great October and the subsequent segment of history as a mistake. We are once again to destroy everything positive we have created during these years. We are urged to break up the CPSU along national lines and narrow the program goals of communists to the idea of national independence. And they are striving ultimately to bring the CPSU as a political force down to the level of a discussion club, a parliamentary organization active only during pre-election battles for the organs of state power.

In this connection one must admit that the criticism of the principle of democratic centralism presented in the Democratic Platform appears fairly convincing. But far from everyone recognizes that in this case they are criticizing not democratic centralism in the Leninist understanding of it and in its practical expression during the period of the history of the party when it was led by

Lenin, but the bureaucratic centralism at which we have arrived during the most recent period, and they really want to throw the baby out along with the bath water. And this is a principal issue.

Rejection of the true Leninist principle of democratic centralism leads the party into an amorphous condition, to its self-elimination, which is tragically dangerous not only for the CPSU but also for the entire society in which signs of anarchy have already appeared.

And I wish to discuss one more thing. As soon as information about the letter of the CPSU Central Committee was made public, proponents of the Democratic Platform immediately began to accuse the party leadership of using splitting tactics. Such statements cause confusion, to put it mildly.

Is this real concern for party unity? But all these issues are being clarified; all one need do is look over the materials of the All-Union Coordination Council of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU which meet during 18-19 March of this year. This is where it was first revealed to the public that the Democratic Platform is the platform of modern social-democracy. It was there that Yu. Afanasyev and several other activists called for using the podium at the 28th Congress for their own ends. And this is where it was announced to the public that it was necessary to fight for delegate mandates simply to prevent this forum from working constructively.

As you can see, this is an organizational and ideological attack on the foundations of the CPSU, and both Lenin and the Marxist-Leninist legacy are being defamed. And all this is being done by people who consider themselves party members. The podiums of party meetings and conferences and the mass media, including the party press, are being used to break up the work within the party.

A special discussion should be devoted to the mass hysteria of rallies that has begun to rain down on us. By skillfully manipulating public attitudes and playing on the people's uneasiness about the tension in the sociopolitical sphere and crises in the economy, certain communists, under the banner of fighting for radical changes, are provoking civil disobedience and a wave of strikes. All kinds of devices and methods are being used: from manipulating group or class interests to promoting nationalism, chauvinism, and separatism. And all democratism and pluralism of opinions are reduced to the amplitude of ideological vacillations, ideological unscrupulousness, and lack of discrimination which are backed by nothing more than the political ambitions of their proponents.

To discredit the party and transform it into an amorphous association of factions and groupings and ultimately to remove it from the political arena—these comprise the major goal of certain leaders who disguise themselves as dedicated democrats and indefatigable fighters for social justice. The tactics of splitting actions

are also well thought out: "Leave the CPSU? No way! Let the orthodox members be the ones to leave."

We are against splitting the party; we are in favor of consolidation of the party ranks. But the reality of our time is such that the separation from the ideological base is already an accomplished fact and the organizational separation is only a matter of time, and, it would seem, a very short amount of time.

The time has come when, recognizing as inalienable the right of each and every individual to freedom of discussion and asserting the priority of the creative, constructive principle of the dialog that has developed, it is necessary to analyze in detail the alignment of forces that has developed in the party on the threshold of the 28th CPSU Congress.

We are faced with complicated and responsible work to consolidate the members of the CPSU on a fundamental basis. There is no doubt that it will be necessary to resolutely part ways with those who, while remaining in the ranks of the CPSU, have entered the path of fighting against the party, who are organizing activity to create factions, and who deny the socialist choice and have essentially placed themselves outside the party.

Nonetheless it is important to do explanatory work with those who are attracted by the pseudorevolutionary phrase, who have not yet been able to figure out the processes taking place in the party and the society.

We must join together people who are capable of putting aside their own personal political ambitions for the sake of common goals so as to become really involved in the work of leading the party out of its crisis.

#### Statements from Discussions

##### **Yu.I. Arefin, Metal Worker of the Zavod imeni M.I. Kalinin Association**

Before beginning my speech I would like to find out whether there will be an article about our plenum in the newspaper. Why do I ask about this? We have raised this question in the past as well. There is no reason for us to be closed off and by ourselves; people should know what we are talking about. And when we do not give this information to the Leningraders all kinds of rumors get started. I think there should be an article about the plenum.

I think the Letter of the CPSU Central Committee was at least a year and maybe four years late. After all, we workers expressed our view when perestroika began: Even those who were not on the same path with us were also called "perestroika people." But we were persuaded they should not be called this, that we would change them later. I consider that a mistake.

The second time we began talking about this was at the 19th Party Conference, in which I was a participant. There again I raised the question of purging the party of people who could not get with the program or were

simply conducting anti-party work among the population. But again they hid behind the word "self-purification." And it is this self-purification that has driven a wedge between us to such a point that we now do not know what to do. Now we have nowhere to turn, the Letter from the Party Central Committee has already come, and we must decide locally who is who. Although I think we have let more than enough time go by.

Having listened to A.M. Fateyev's information I think that we have become accustomed to talking about the fact that mistakes have been made. But which ones? Here is the question people ask me: You are the ones meeting there, and what mistakes have you made? I have to tell the people we have done this and that, or we have made a mistake in adopting the law on the enterprise, the law on vodka, or some other such law. And who is to blame and what are we going to do correct the mistakes? For example if, as a member of the party gorkom, I do not know how am I going to explain to people in my shop?

Therefore I think we should have stopped talking long ago about mistakes that have been made. The easiest thing of all is to say that we made them. But what conclusions have we drawn? I personally do not see any lessons learned from these mistakes.

At our last plenum we spoke about the fact that we must step up explanatory work about the platforms we have. There are three of them but let us group them and make two, which could be called the party Central Committee along with the Leningrad Platform and the Democratic Platform. But we have not had this kind of activity.

I know that there is a new television program called *Politika* on which they have already criticized this letter. They reacted quickly to this matter. And we did not.

I can give you a concrete example which, so to speak, hit me right on head. About how certain people do the work we are supposed to do and how we cannot do it. Our workers invited me to a lecture which has been given in our plant several times. Go and take a look and see what it is about. I went there. It was given by someone named Vershinin from the sanitary-hygienic institute, one of the leaders, one of the leaders of some group. I do not know which one, perhaps the People's Front. But now the leaders of the People's Front and the leaders of the Democratic Platform are one and the same in my view.

But when we hear a lecture, out of habit we think it is being given by the Znaniye Society. A candidate of sciences and a party member should be doing normal explanatory work—but what is happening in our country? I heard the most outspoken anti-Soviet propaganda. I do not know if this work is being done against us abroad—I doubt it, but this party member, who is covered by a party card, is conducting this work. And the most offensive thing is that he is doing all this in the building of our party committee. Do you understand?



We arrived and the doors were closed and it is not important what was being done there. If we think that these comrades have taken over the Znaniye Society and, out of old habit, we think that this society should bring knowledge to the people, we must look and see who is in this society. And the comrade himself says that they have not been able to hold a party meeting for three months now. Of course, what kind of party meeting would it be with such views.

I threw out several remarks to him but there was not enough time for arguing—a report and election meeting was in progress in our shop. But still sometimes it is worthwhile to listen to our ideological enemies. What are they saying? Thus he called the deputies of the Leningrad City Soviet revisionists. That is, they were battered and beaten and now they have made their way to power and they will shake up the city soviet.

I think our voters have elected them not so they could divide up the portfolios: Which portfolio goes to Salye and which to Bogomolov or Filippov. They probably elected the deputies to impose order and create proper living conditions for the voters. And this comrade could find nothing better to say. I do not think all the deputies of the city soviet are like Salye, who is bucking for power; there are plenty of decent Leningraders who actually want to do something, and not all of them can be called revisionists.

Certain communists, while hiding behind their party card, follow an anti-party line. I would like to discuss two comrades who hold very high positions here, they beat their chests, calling everybody conservatives and so forth, and they themselves do things that do not make any sense. I would like to discuss our leader—this is what our opposition call him—Comrade Sobchak, and give a concrete example. I do not think such party members should be in our ranks and I will explain why. At a Baltic plant, when he was discussing his trip to Greece, Comrade Sobchak began to circulate misinformation, getting the workers to march against the administration.

A concrete example. While in Greece, he says, he met a manager of a firm who makes much less money than the workers do. He adds that there it is not like here—here the director receives more. But then he forgets to mention that the manager is the owner of the firm who knows what he is doing. For they have many more confrontations between the administration and the workers than we do. And he is pouring oil on the fire. Why do such things?

Why am I telling you these things? Because Sobchak is my deputy and I can say everything I think about him. That is my position. Moreover, I am a Communist and I am not afraid of this word. And when a person comes to the labor collective and starts to say such things, that is wrong.

I will give some more evidence like this so people will not say that I am telling lies about him.... Well, they say you have such poor leaders that they cannot provide housing

for the workers. You should have reached an agreement with the Greeks and you could have built ships for them and they could have come and built housing for us. I would say that our neighbors the Finns are probably no fools, and they made contact with the Greeks and obtained an order from them because their largest ship-building firm, in Turku, had gone bankrupt. Why discuss these things? Again to put our leaders in a bad light and set us, the workers, against them.

I am one of those workers who spends time abroad. I was in the FRG where I had a personal conversation with the biggest entrepreneur of the firm. We sat down and had dinner. He said: "I eat here." I asked him this question: "Tell me, what do you eat." He said: "Everybody has his own kind of meal here." But our leaders eat in our worker dining rooms. I can speak about my own director, A.V. Zakharov, who lives on Vasliyevskiy. He went to a dairy dining room on Seventh Line and stood in line with the rest of us. So can one really contrast our administrators to us, the workers? I think this is the most harmful policy. One can spout eloquent slogans at rallies or poison the people against the administration on the sly.

But why do we have such leaders? Because we do not give them what they deserve! And they take it upon themselves to say certain things.

Last year we had an activist in Tavricheskiy Palace. The speaker was Comrade Boldyrev who asked: "Are we all in agreement?" I think the people in the party should think alike. And those who do not think as we do should leave the party. And when Comrade Boldyrev speaks on television and says that Yuriy Vlasov acted incorrectly when he left the party, that he should mess up the party from within, and leave the party only after that—this, excuse me, is not the party position. I do not think there is any place for such party members in our ranks.

One of the recent television programs invited Leningraders to a discussion. I do not know how to get into it but I offer myself as a participant. I request also that in these discussions a place be allotted for workers and engineering and technical personnel so that not only can the "fifth wheel" wage its propaganda campaign but we can also defend our viewpoint. Then it will be clear who is who. I personally am in favor of socialism.

**Yu.A. Petrosyan, Head of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Orientalology of the USSR Academy of Sciences**

This is not my first time at this podium but, to be honest, I do not recall ever before having experienced such a sense of the exceptional importance of what is transpiring. Was it really only a year ago that I spoke here about the results of the first elections of people's deputies. When I spoke at that plenum many people came up to me afterwards and said that I had spoken against the party line, against the "hundredths" [sotki], against the district election commissions, and against the law on elections in the form in which it appeared. Yet a half year

later everything about which I was speaking had become the norm and had been adopted in the corresponding laws.

The second example. I recall that about three or four months ago at a meeting of the ideological commission it was very difficult for me to prove to my colleagues on the commission that we ourselves had to make a suggestion to remove Article 6. Not more than a couple of weeks had passed before the party leaders of Leningrad proudly showed us our platform without mentioning the fact that it contained a proposal to remove Article 6. I remind you of this only so that now, at a time when we must make a very serious decision, we will think about what we intend to do. Having read the text of the letter I had a keen sense of the seriousness of the situation. But I felt even more disturbed after reading the documents that were distributed to us and the decrees we are supposed to adopt. Look at what happens. The questions that are being raised now are questions for discussion not only before the congress but during the congress. And we are actually being asked to deal with them before the congress.

I will tell you my attitude toward the Central Committee letter. I am convinced that this document is an obvious attempt to get discussion underway within the party before the congress, that is, to make sure that all of us come to the congress thinking the same way. The same thing has happened in our party many times before, and I do not think there is any need to remind you of what came of it.

Second. There have been so many conversations about the usefulness of discussion from the higher party leadership, and suddenly it is the other way around: Outright abuse of the Democratic Platform, about which as recently as two months ago people were speaking as though it were a platform with which one should engage in discussion. And note that there are about 100,000 party members in Leningrad (figures from the Leningrad press and they were not fabricated) who stand behind the Democratic Platform. Are we going to test every sixth Communist for "loyalty"?

I am convinced that the publication of the letter aggravates rather than weakens the tendency toward a split in the party. It is causing many communists to lose confidence in the sincerity of our party leadership, the leadership which has had so much to say about political pluralism and now is blatantly calling us to drive from the party ranks those who do not support the platform of the CPSU Central Committee. This is not simply inconsistency, it is political immorality. For many honest communists this document is an important incentive to switch to a "non-party position." And this must be clearly understood.

What kind of ideological atmosphere for the election of deputies to the 28th Congress is created by this document and this way of stating the issue? And herein, incidentally, lies the essence. Look at what it says: "It is

important that the congress delegates be confirmed communists...." What does this mean? It indicates a forthright attempt to provide for the "necessary" contingent of congress delegates consisting of people who agree with the Central Committee platform.

And is this not the essence of the document and of its appearance at this precise time, a time when we have to solve the problem of election of deputies to the congress. We must think about all this, Comrades, we must think about it when determining our attitude toward the Central Committee letter.

**Yu.M. Pavlov, Member of the Military Council, Chief of the Political Administration of the Order of Lenin Leningrad Military District, Lieutenant General**

Army communists have a good understanding of the significance of the period we are going through for the fate of the party and the entire country. The draft of the Central Committee platform is at the center of the attention and the most active discussion of our communists. Many ideas and suggestions have been expressed regarding further work on this document, but for the most part our organizations have expressed support for it. Army communists are expressing serious concern about the activation of forces that are trying to shift the CPSU from the strategic points of socialist development. The political schemes and practical actions of representatives of certain groups and tendencies within the CPSU have little to do with belonging to the Communist Party and, as we know, are frequently directed toward removing it from the political arena.

I would say that the attitude toward Lenin is indicative here. Today this is like a touchstone on which one can test people's real feeling for the party. And we can see that a deliberate attempt to erode the ideological basis of the party is frequently passed off under the banner of a creative approach to Leninism. Therefore we think that the open letter from the Central Committee is timely and it was probably timely considerably before it was published. There is no doubt that we have passed over the neutral strip and the time has come to make a principled assessment of those party members who are deliberately leading us to a split and who have actually placed themselves outside the party both in their views and in their behavior.

As concerns the Democratic Platform, the army communists, while noting the points at which it coincides with the Central Committee platform, think that as a whole it is unacceptable because it leads the party away from its basic goals and tasks and it leads to a segmentation and weakening of our party. This certainly does not mean that we perceive everything the same in the drafts of the Central Committee platform and the CPSU Rules. The spectrum of opinions here is broad and very diverse, but the most frequently expressed among them are wishes for a more clear cut wording in the basic documents of the Communist perspective as the basic point of reference for the Communist Party. The party organization is

in favor of an ideological and organizational reinforcement of the party ranks and a retention of the principle of democratic centralism in the modern understanding of it and not in distorted form.

There must be strict requirements in the norms for party membership. We are not satisfied with the fact that the platform says nothing about the role of the armed forces in the country's modern political life or the attitude toward army service as the constitutional duty of each citizen. Questions of military-patriotic education and strengthening of the unity of the army and the people have remained in the background. Today there is a good deal of discussion, frequently superficial and sometimes simply incompetent, about the content of the reform in the army. True, it has begun and it encompasses both questions of military construction and the social sphere, but, frankly, we still do not have a scientifically substantiated concept for the construction of the modern armed forces and we are being dragged along by the tide of events, as they say. Therefore we need a law on defense which would define the entire concept.

There are now many discussions about the legality and expediency of using troops in the "hot spots" of our country. We are simply against using them to solve domestic problems but we consider it justified to stand up to defend the people from extremists, pogrom perpetrators, and other such elements, and I think that anyone who doubts this should listen more and mainly they should hear the people who are suffering. Those thousands and thousands of refugees who to our great shame appeared in the 73d year of Soviet power.

But these decisions should be made by the highest echelon of state power and they should be widely explained to all the people by the government. And all the omissions we find today are inadmissible.

I should like to discuss one more issue. Recently an anti-army, essentially anti-military campaign calling for ending the draft into the armed forces has become more active. And to our great misfortune, not everything is in order in Leningrad either. Such a thing has never happened before, but last year 600 youths actually refused to serve in the army. Only a couple of individual measures were taken. Let me say frankly that attention to this problem has slackened and I would very strongly request party and soviet organs right before the next draft to get involved in the work for unconditional fulfillment of the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers.

We would like to have more constructive dialog with the mass media, labor and student collectives, and creative organizations. We have opened up the doors of military settlements and units for this, and we want to meet and are meeting with many people. This dialog must be developed and expanded, and this is in our common interests.

Significant improvement, taking the new situation into account, in our view, requires the establishment of heroic-patriotic education. I must say that there is a large

amount of joint work to do here. Proceeding toward the 45th anniversary of the Great Victory, we must state that far from everything possible is being done here so that this bright holiday will be celebrated in a good and honorable way. We see indifference and inertia in preparing for this event. Many veterans have been forgotten and insulting attacks against the army continue. The repertoires of the movie theaters are scanty and the mass media do not have enough to say about this topic. Is it really true—let us be direct—that we have become calloused and our memory has gotten short? It seems to me that it is very important now for each party committee to think about the situation again. I repeat, each one, and engage in active work.

To celebrate this holiday in a worthy manner is not only our duty in memory to the dead and not only our gratitude to living veterans; this holiday signifies an immense potential for consolidating the people and improving the situation. I think this is our sacred duty.

**T.V. Zakharenkova, Secretary of the Party Committee of the Lesnoye Sovkhoz [state farm]**

I think that with the Central Committee open letter communists of the country learned about everyone—both proponents of the platform of the party Central Committee and proponents of the Democratic Platform. Everyone can get something out of it and there is something for everyone to reflect upon. I think this document opened the eyes of a considerable number of people who believed the authors of loud slogans and harsh assessments of the past and present. The goals of the ultra-radicals are clearly stated in the letter. They are urging the idea of breaking the party apart from within, transforming it into an amorphous association with complete freedom of factions and groupings. That is, actually destroying it. A lot of organizational work in this direction is underway. It is no secret today that proponents of the Democratic Platform are trying to send as many of their delegates as possible to the party congress so as not simply to break off from the party and form their own but to leave the party with CPSU property.

I am disturbed by the fact that proponents of the Democratic Platform are to be found among secretaries of party organizations as well, even full-time secretaries who have been released from other duties. They are forming public opinion against the Communist Party although they are receiving their wages from its funds. I think the party raykoms and gorkoms should efficiently get rid of these comrades. Of course the draft of the platform also requires a good deal more work. For example, I cannot forgive the authors for forgetting the word "communism." It is very offensive that the Central Committee, headed by the general secretary, is abandoning one position after another. I think it should be stated clearly and unequivocally whose interests the Communist Party is defending. In my opinion it should be above all the working class and the working peasantry. In the final variant they should elucidate the problems of

agricultural production more clearly and express concern for the agricultural worker and the peasant.

There is no doubt that not every Communist today can understand the drafts of the party platform and rules. The local party organizations need help here. And qualified help. The informals today have methodological developments in which they have done an analysis of the Democratic Platform, and all this has been done from the standpoint and views of proponents of the Democratic Platform. But where are the developments for helping us? Or is the Higher Party School not capable of this? Or the ideological division of the party obkom?

Today there is a glaring lack of aggressive work among the ideological personnel. We must send out groups of lecturers and social scientists who believe in our positions directly to the labor collectives, the shops, and the farms, and we must send them today because tomorrow might be too late. On the whole I consider the open letter from the Central Committee correct but tardy.

**Ye.A. Rodin, Secretary of the Party Committee of the Pozitron Association**

In my view we are once again witnesses to the same kinds of documents we were reading not so long ago. Another letter signed by the Central Committee. But I know that our member of the Central Inspection Commission did not support this letter when it was submitted for his approval. In my view, this letter has evoked a situation in the party that is so serious that there has not been one similar since the 10th Party Congress. And I consider it wrong to accept and officially discuss a letter that was prepared by a fairly narrow group. A Central Committee plenum is needed. I think this letter should have been discussed at the plenum. And only after that should it have been analyzed in the local party organizations.

I am also surprised by the ready acceptance of the party obkom: We not only have a procedure but criteria have even been developed for how we should divide and what we should call one another. In my view there is no way for us to split apart according to our plans. We do not have the documents yet. Both the Central Committee platform and the Democratic Platform are only plans. And they have been presented to us for discussion so that we can take the best from them. And now we are trying to split apart according to these plans.

The notion of conducting a congress of like-thinkers has already been mentioned here. We have already had one congress, a congress of winners, and its results are known. Therefore I do not think this letter was well thought out, or at least it does not reflect the real state of affairs or the views of the rank-and-file communists. Therefore I appeal to you not to accept this decree but to regard the letter as premature and not reflecting the precise interests of Leningrad communists.

**N.I. Didenko, Party Committee Secretary of the Polytechnical Institute imeni M.I. Kalinin**

I would like to present the integrated opinion of communists of the Polytechnical Institute but, unfortunately, I cannot do this because the letter arrived literally a day ago. Therefore I can convey only the assessment that follows from the discussion at the expanded meeting of the party committee attended by secretaries of shop party organizations, delegates to the rayon conference, and delegates to the oblast and city combined conference. In general the letter evokes uneasiness among the people who discussed it because of the following factors. The first factor is the authorship, which Comrade Rodin just mentioned. It is incomprehensible who the author of this letter is and why it is presented as the letter of the Central Committee. The second thing is the spirit of the letter. The spirit of the letter is found where several lines are allotted to the right wing and then in the harsh criticism of the Democratic Platform. We think that this letter is an attempt to break off from the party the most active part, the one interested in perestroika, the most democratic part of the party.

Now the next thing. We do not think this letter deserves such hasty support but, rather, requires careful study and analysis, and above all by communists. If one is to speak about today's meeting, I, for example, am not satisfied with the report of Anatoliy Mikhaylovich because it does not give an assessment of the condition of our party organization or a political assessment of the Leningrad region. Because the political assessment varies from region to region and we must make decisions based on an in-depth analysis of the political situation that exists in the region.

It seems to me that the condition that is now to be observed in our party organization and the political situation in the Leningrad region do not allow us to accept the policy of organizational and ideological separation or the basic criteria that are being proposed here. Therefore, while already moving on to a resolution, I suggest adopting it in the following form: that at least as a minimum the party organization can decide ideological and organizational but certainly not a plenum. Therefore before 30 April, as is written here, the letter must be discussed in the local party organizations and we must learn the opinion of communists, and we must know their opinion and base our actions on it. Only then should we take any measures.

**V.V. Yashin, First Secretary of the Krasnoselskiy CPSU Raykom [Rayon Party Committee]**

I was motivated to come up to the podium by the fact that last Saturday there was a conference of the rayon party organization where questions of the CPSU Central Committee Platform and, of course, the question of the Democratic Platform were discussed, and the opinion of the rayon party organization as of today, it seems to me, is more or less clear. The conference noted that the party has come to a fairly alarming point in its destiny, one might say, a fateful point. It is difficult today to give a



full answer to what the objective and subjective preconditions were, the more so since there are both. But I should like to note in my speech that to a significant degree, if one takes the subjective factor, today's situation in the party is the product of the fairly lethargic policy of the party Central Committee.

I understand how thankless this subject is. Today as soon as you try to criticize the party Central Committee they immediately point the finger at you and ask what you have done to change the situation. Let us not be hasty. At the report and election conferences which will be held soon communists will tell us what the raykom and gorkom [city party committee] have done, but today I would like to make a critical remark which, I repeat, was heard at the rayon conference against the party Central Committee.

For the past three years we have frequently been hearing that democratization in the party is lagging behind democratization in society. But when it comes to who is at fault for this or how such a situation developed nobody can or will give an answer. Democratization in the party is not a restructuring of the economic mechanism, which is terribly inert and terribly difficult. But who kept the Central Committee from preparing a draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee and draft rules for the period between the 19th Conference and at least December of last year? Who is to blame for the fact that the official platform appeared after the Democratic Platform did? Can it be that nobody knows the answer to this today?

I think the party Central Committee is largely to blame here. Moreover, I would like to ask: What is this—a failure to understand the situation in the party or a policy that has been given some thought? Analyzing the totality of factors all communists are observing today, I am inclined more toward the latter. Somebody is terribly interested in removing from the political map of the Soviet Union such a powerful organization as the CPSU. And it seems to me, I repeat, that I cannot absolutize what I am saying today but in the Politburo of the Central Committee we have our own home-grown Mill-erands. We are being called to divide up according to platforms in the local party organizations.

I repeat once again that we are being called today to divide up according to platforms and it is suggested that we consolidate around the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee which, as our rayon conference showed, is a fairly undeveloped, rough document. But today there are two platforms. And if we are still speaking about the kinds of principles that can be discussed, including in the local party organizations, I would say the following: Today there is no need to absolutize the official platform of the CPSU Central Committee. I repeat that it is fairly subject to criticism and there are things for which it should be criticized. But as far as I can see, behind the two platforms stand two absolutely different types of parties with their own different organizational principles for functioning.

These principles are more or less clear. And to suggest dividing up according to platforms today—for us or not for us, for red or for white—from my viewpoint is fairly dishonorable for a large number of our communists.

I understand that the division which could take place could produce a more peaceful situation for the functioning of the CPSU. There will no longer be people who are constantly irritated. But let us answer this question: Will this help the party get back on its feet and begin to win positions back? I am deeply convinced that it will not. If for no other reason than because today a considerable number of communists, it seems to me, have grown so lazy in their party work that dividing up in and of itself would do nothing for the party.

What are we given as criteria? I shall read one of them: "Deviation from practical implementation of the CPSU line in the labor collectives, among the population, and in state and social organizations." And this is a powerful factor that compromises a Communist. Comrades, believe me, a practical party worker: If this principle were applied we could expel 50-70 percent of the communists from the party. Today everyone is polemicizing and discrediting but nobody is working on the party. Is it really possible to absolutize such criteria by a decision of our joint plenum?

I have a fairly arbitrary suggestion, namely: to create commissions in the local party organizations and to expel people according to certain criteria—this is still force to a certain degree. I have another suggestion. Taking into account the fact that the coordination council of the Democratic Platform has unequivocally taken a course toward splitting the party, nobody can keep a Communist from leaving the CPSU and entering a new, say, newly formed party. A voluntary, personal choice for the Communist is the only basis on which the party can divide up today in any case. And nothing else. That is my viewpoint.

#### **V.A. Tyulkin, Secretary of the Party Committee of the Avangard Scientific Production Association**

I agree with the opinion that has already been expressed that the letter of the CPSU Central Committee was at least several months too late. Incidentally, M.S. Gorbachev on 3 April in a meeting in Moscow, in response to criticism of the Central Committee platform for the fact that it did not contain an analysis of the ideological separation and organizational formation of these tendencies, stated that this letter was being prepared. When the majority of participants in the meeting expressed the opinion that again we are late, again we are being dragged along by the tide of events, his answer was that there was no pleasing them—something like that. Therefore I think we can quite understand the dissatisfaction of the rank-and-file communists and local party organizations with the fact that these positions were not taken mainly by the Central Committee and by Mikhail

Sergeyevich personally. We have, incidentally, a people's control committee—they receive their wages from the party treasury.

It would probably be fair to submit precisely these demands to the central organs. Why? Because it is necessary to distinguish at least three concepts in the Democratic Platform.

First there is the document itself as such. This is probably a subject for discussion, for consideration of ideas, and for constructive criticism. Here we can only blame ourselves for not working hard enough.

Second is the movement itself, a movement of rank-and-file communists, of our comrades. And we must understand that they are mainly our own people who are seriously concerned about the fate of the party and the country. And we must remember that 80 percent of the proposals contained in the Democratic Platform, especially concerning democratization of the party, are ones that we have developed, which were first included in the Leningrad platform, which, incidentally, was never published in the central press. At one plenum Mikhail Sergeyevich mentioned it three times in a positive sense and for some reason these words were edited out of the text in the central press. Incidentally, on 3 April Mikhail Sergeyevich considered it necessary to answer the question of why this was done.

Finally, the third factor in the Democratic Platform are the leaders of the movement. Here, of course, we must define our positions and there is no point in waiting until the 28th Congress or subsequent events. Today we also have the rules. For example, what is our position toward those comrades who at the coordination council in Moscow are saying that the Democratic Platform risks falling behind in the accelerating course of events since it is continuing to think in categories of what is happening in the CPSU and not in the society. According to this principle the Democratic Platform is increasingly being transformed into a preservative for a decomposing corpse named the CPSU (Comrade Afanasyev).

I think that here we simply have a right to make a demand—I do not know if the party organization of which Comrade Afanasyev is a member will be up to it, but the Central Committee and the party control committee should draw their own conclusions.

Next I have a remark about the letter. As a criterion it is suggested that we define our position and include the words that we, the party, have entered on a course toward a plan-market economy. Although this is only one of the points of the draft in their discussions communists most frequently ask this question: What kind of economy is this, how do the interests of the majority of rank- and-file workers fit in, where will they end up?

Or there are the ideals of humane democratic socialism. Again everyone asks the question: Listen to the secretary, for whom should he be truly humane, and for whom will he be only democratic? Explain.

The more so since the platform draft itself does not contain the word "communism." This suggests certain ideas not only with respect to the authors but also those who adopted it, our leaders.

One other aspect. The Leningrad party organization has submitted a proposal to the effect that it is extremely important for the party authority to distance itself as much as possible not only from Stalinism but also from recent figures like Grishin and other comrades. But for some reason our suggestion was not adopted and I think that it could apply to this letter of the Central Committee as well. It is no less important for our further activity and for the party's authority.

I think that, as usual, the Central Committee and its apparatus are not oriented toward the opinion of the lower party levels, the local party organizations, and the rank-and-file communists. I reached this conclusion after the meeting on 3 April for preparing for the conference of Russian communists who are delegates to the 28th Party Congress. In their opening remarks M.S. Gorbachev and Comrade Manayenkov, having weighed all the pros and cons—these are indeed serious arguments and we too are thinking in terms of them—in general suggested that we consider that now it is inexpedient to give fixed form to the organizational unity of the republic communists. And therefore, Comrades, let us deal with purely practical issues of preparing for the conference.

But the majority of those present did not agree with that. Having emphasized that this problem should probably be resolved not at a Central Committee plenum where communists from other republics are present and not by us here who represent the preparation committee for the conference, and probably not even by Mikhail Sergeyevich, we must turn to all communists of the republic, having presented all the pros and cons, and ask them to express their opinion. This is what the Central Committee should have done before the conference of the preparation committee. We have agreed that such an appeal will be prepared in the near future and we shall meet again to coordinate the text. But it is strange that in the TASS report the very name of the preparations group, which is to generalize the opinions from the local areas regarding this issue, is distorted. It is called approximately this: "the preparatory group for collecting opinions for the party conference."

I should like to conclude with the following: We should probably recommend to the Central Committee that it begin its serious work with itself, it should begin with the Central Committee plenum, and it should recommend that M.S. Gorbachev define his personal position more clearly.

**V.P. Smirnov, Chairman of the Labor Collective Council of LOMO imeni V.I. Lenin**

I have had many occasions to attend local party organization meetings where these platforms were discussed. They discussed not only the Central Committee platform

and the platform of the Leningrad party organization but also, as a rule, they discussed the Democratic Platform, and I must say that it had the largest number of advocates for the simple reason that it is the most intelligible, presented the most simply, and is the easiest to understand.

To be honest, I do not know who the authors of the Central Committee platform are, but it is considerably more difficult to explain it to the workers than the Democratic Platform. Today we are discussing the open letter of the Central Committee which calls for us to separate and determine who is the enemy and who is the friend. I think it is simply impossible to do this in the situation that has developed in the organization. I shall quote a couple of points from the report of Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Fateyev. What aspects are typical of our party organization today? I quote: "...We were late with the concept. The program of the Leningrad party organization did not become a consolidating document. We were not persistent enough, we did not understand that single-party comfort had come to an end, and the only thing we could do was develop a strategy...." I can honestly say that in the presence of these facts, which were given in Anatoliy Mikhaylovich's report, I do not understand how we can explain to communists in the local party organizations the policy of ideological purification and organizational separation. When I am convinced that even those who are sitting here do not fully understand these documents and have not figured them out. In any case I have not figured them out completely. And I think, I am convinced that as a result of this purge we shall lose many rank-and-file communists, our allies. And, incidentally, I share the doubts and uneasiness of Comrade Petrosyan regarding this. In my view he was quite right.

And I am still convinced that we cannot divide people up on the basis of draft documents. And it is being suggested that we do precisely this. There is still no basic document but nonetheless today we are expected to divide up. I am convinced that it is not only the so-called leaders of the Democratic Platform who are leading us to a split in the party but also our inactivity, the inactivity of the party obkom [oblast party committee], gorkom, and raykom. Because the busy organizational and explanatory ideological work being done by proponents of the Democratic Platform, which include the Znaniye Society, and other organizations is nowhere to be seen in the realm of support and clarification of the platform of the CPSU Central Committee. This is very alarming and, shall we say, it even frightens us.

Now the question of who wrote this letter. Sitting behind me are several members of our party's Central Committee and one of them, in their words, seems neither to have signed this letter nor does he support it. I would like very much for one of the members of the Central Committee today to speak up and tell us about the situation in which the letter was adopted, who its author

is, and so forth. And how was this letter adopted at a meeting of the party Central Committee? Did they vote on it or not?

I think the draft of the decree we received before this meeting simply cannot be accepted in its present form.

#### A.M. Fateyev, CPSU Obkom Secretary

I fully agree and I am on the side of those comrades who spoke about the fact that we cannot divide up on the basis of draft platforms or on the basis of platforms in general. If you noticed, I spoke of this in my speech. The very existence of platforms implies various views, and division should occur only in terms of fundamental positions, above all the CPSU Rules.

This is in response to the speeches of Comrades Rodin and Didenko and the last speech. I have spoken of this quite clearly and unequivocally.

Regarding the statements about the hasty preparation of the Leningrad Obkom and our own preparedness to consider this document, which has not been interpreted....

I shall express my view and the opinion of the secretariat: This is not haste. On Friday and Saturday we shall conduct the second round of city and rayon conferences where, according to the agenda, we shall discuss questions of preparing documents for the forthcoming party congress. And, in our view, it would be absolutely incorrect for us here in this situation to continue to remain silent and wait. Yes, I fully agree with Comrade Smirnov that it is not easy for us; it is difficult for us to figure out these criteria. We have brought in specialists, social scientists, and political scientists. We have suggested this variant: to meet here in order to discuss it and make reasonable suggestions. But I am convinced that we must orient local party organizations on how to act with respect to this letter and the forthcoming work.

I wish to answer Comrade Nemtin's question about the position of Leningraders who are members of the CPSU Central Committee regarding the question under discussion. We sent a note to the Central Committee regarding the draft of the open letter which said that, taking into account the extreme importance of the problem raised in the draft of the letter of the CPSU Central Committee for Communists of the country, we insist on an immediate convocation of the Central Committee plenum for a comprehensive discussion and adoption of this document at it.

The draft of the letter is vague and vulnerable to criticism from the left and the right, which aggravates the situation in the CPSU and the society even more. I was categorically against the open publication of the draft before the Central Committee plenum. The Central Committee plenum must set an example of ideological separation and organizational purification of those who want to undermine the CPSU from within. We consider

it necessary for the ideological separation and the organizational purification of the CPSU to be conducted on the basis of the fundamental points of the rules (which I have also discussed). To this end, at the Central Committee plenum we should work out the appropriate criteria instead of an abstract concept of "opponents of perestroika." The plenum must also establish an efficient mechanism for conducting all of this work.

This note was also signed by Central Committee members here and by me as a member of the Central Inspection Commission. Therefore I think it would be wrong to address our remarks today to members of the party Central Committee. I wish to clarify just one more circumstance. This document, the draft of the open letter, was sent to all members of the party Central Committee, candidate members of the Central Committee, members of the Central Inspection Commission, and first secretaries of oblast party committees. The voting was actually in favor of the text of the letter and in favor of its publication, and today it must not be regarded as a game of the apparatus. It is another matter that we did not agree on its form either—I read you our note. This concerns members of the party Central Committee and candidate members of the Central Committee. Then after consideration of the question in the Central Committee Politburo this letter was adopted as a document of the party Central Committee and was published after that. Therefore today we may agree with it or not and we may evaluate it in various ways but it is a decree of the party Central Committee and this means that we should have the appropriate reaction to it. This is why the present materials have been submitted for your discussion.

**N.A. Abramov, Party Committee Secretary of the Krasnyy Treugolnik Association**

The first thing I wanted to say, of course, excuse me Anatoliy Mikhaylovich, but I cannot restrain myself. Anyway I do not recall the main thing: We are saying one thing and doing something else. You just spoke from this podium about the fact that Central Committee members are against it but the decree has been prepared and so we are for it. I do not understand this at all. It is simply impossible to interpret this as anything other than apparatus games.

Now concretely about this letter. The only thing that can be assessed as positive here is the attitude of the Central Committee toward the Democratic Platform. True, again with a great deal of delay. We have finally gathered and decided to respond. But again it is too late. Well, here is the main thing: We can see the links of the same chain, I recall the story of when they tried to make us wage a report and election campaign before the congress.

At that time we thought this was being done simply to break down the local party organizations which are the basis of the party—everyone knows that—whose opinions we are constantly forgetting about. And here again we can see this chain: Once again dealing a blow to the

local party organizations because we are responsible for the main task in this situation—dividing people into white and red, and we shall have to answer for this, the secretaries and election workers and party members who are in the local organizations.

We should not accept this letter as a guide to action. We should categorically reject it, but in this situation I am sorry about one thing: it is that in this situation I am not a member of the obkom or gorkom so that at least I could defend my own viewpoint and form an opinion so that this decree is not forced through.

Comrades who are obkom and gorkom members, I simply call for you to be aware that there are many members of labor collectives among you and not to allow the adoption of this decree!

**N.A. Khrustalev, Party Committee Secretary of the Leningrad Scientific Research Radiotechnical Institute**

Now, Comrades, it is mainly party committee secretaries who are speaking. I can say that after the publication of the letter passions were inflamed in our party organization. The process of democratization in the party is going on and this process, in my opinion, is irreversible and broad, and as with any broad movement there are those who outpace the others, who run ahead, and there are those who lag behind, but it is a unified flow, and today we must not make any division or demand that people with different ideas be driven out. This even contradicts the draft of the Central Committee program. We have an established path and it involves taking into account all the proposals there are, and there is time to use this established path before the congress. The process of determining the personal position of each Communist takes time and in my opinion we must not accelerate this process artificially.

If we begin a split from the Democratic Platform now, a considerable number of communists may go over to it for two reasons. The first is the external attractiveness of the Democratic Platform; the second is that after the letter the Democratic Platform will become the movement that is oppressed by the Central Committee and in our country we have always had compassion for the oppressed. At the recent rayon party conferences reaching agreement was regarded as a great achievement even though there were people in favor of splitting on both sides. The oblast committee was also formed under the banner of consolidation at the rayon conferences. Now that this letter has appeared, in our party organization among proponents of the Democratic Platform a countermovement toward a split is beginning. Do you understand where we are heading now.

Of course, regarding those who have "harnessed" this tendency in the party and for whom the split is a goal in itself and a manifestation of a desire to satisfy certain ambitions, we must make a decision to expel them. During the course of the discussions these people make themselves known to the communists and they have the corresponding attitude. Indeed, the documents produced



by the Moscow Party call more actively for a split. But the Leningrad proponents of the Democratic Platform are more inclined toward consolidation. Now, after the letter, functionaries of the Democratic Platform are already feeling that things are getting hot and are beginning to fan hysteria and get the communists worked up. The attitude of the majority now is that again the Central Committee or, rather, even the Central Committee apparatus, has shown its old colors with this appeal for unanimity.

Therefore I suggest judging the policy of splitting from both sides as something that stands in contradiction to the content of the drafts of the platform and rules of the Central Committee and to consider the letter of the Central Committee as something that does not reflect the situation in the Leningrad party organization and we should not accept it for guidance.

We should join forces for democratization in the party and continue the pre-congress discussion, and not cut apart a living being.

#### V.A. Yefimov, CPSU Gorkom Secretary

At the plenum today even people who seem to have always understood one another do not have any simple ideas. And this is no accident since we are discussing a question which requires special wisdom, a question of compromises. If we make a mistake we either turn into an amorphous, helpless mass or we split our party, which is equally democratic.

I should like to briefly express my own opinion about what is happening and come to some conclusions. I think we should be very alarmed by the fact that our country, while having, as it were, everything it needs, has ended up in a dramatic crisis. I recall our last plenum a year ago when we first actually mentioned the serious mistakes of the party Central Committee. This was the first time this had happened in the country.

But today it is obvious to me that the mistakes we make are fairly well coordinated methodologically. What is being passed off today as pluralism of opinions is a unified, very structured system. And in our day, as never before, we need dialog with equal status for all political and intellectual forces so that later, after decades, we will not be analyzing the mistakes of today.

We must prevent unilateral imposition of various values, whether this be done on behalf of the people or on behalf of the party.

I think the Leningrad party organization should finally have its own position and anticipate possible variants of the development of events; we have all the necessary creative potential for this. But so far, while displaying our own inconsistency, we are trying to fluctuate along with the line of the CPSU Central Committee. But the time has come to understand that the CPSU Central Committee line is leading to an inevitable demoralization of all social and power structures.

Let me clarify my thought. We have the decisions of the 27th Party Congress, which are directive documents, and we have worker guidelines which radically differ from the points handed down by the congress. If interested you can bring up materials for the congress and see that much that is written there is the opposite of what we are doing.

I agree that there should be adjustments to the party course, including operational ones, but only the regular congress has the right to make them. And no one executive organ and no one party leader has the right to replace a congress decision with his own ideas. Otherwise this is precisely what leads to the demoralization of party structures in all power echelons.

A diversity of political positions is developing in society. This is a normal positive fact since behind each position, overt or camouflaged, there is a quite specific interest of certain social segments or groups of the society.

Recently in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA it was reported that a Communist rose to the defense of people who receive R140,000 a month. These people have their own difficult problems. Just think—R140,000 every month. We probably need people who would actually represent their interests in the society. But they are quite different interests from, say, those of the worker at Krasnyy Treugolnik who does not receive this amount of money in his entire life. Therefore he has quite different problems. Quite different political forces must stand behind each of these groups.

Those to whom the ideas of socialism are alien and who actually use pluralism of opinions to cover up a struggle against the party must be honest with themselves and with the party.

I think the principle of voluntary withdrawal from the party is the most correct principle. But for those who, without good reason, refuse to take this step voluntarily, it is also necessary to use power. Program and regulation requirements should be the criteria.

I consider it my duty to take note of the continuing inconsistency of the Central Committee line, which was most clearly revealed with respect to this letter.

Before the appearance of the open letter the mass media, including our party's central organ, PRAVDA, not without the knowledge of the party leadership was promoting the Democratic Platform. As yet there has been no well argued scientific criticism of it either in the press or on television, in spite of numerous inquiries from the local areas, including those that have come through me. And after positive stereotypes had begun to form at the level of everyday awareness (and we know how they are imposed on us; the mechanism can be understood) regarding this platform, without preliminary disclosure of its real essence, in the open letter it is treated as divisive, directed toward the actual collapse of our party. Consciously or unconsciously such actions lead to the formation of the image of sufferers, and the publication

of such a letter in today's situation is a grave political mistake. If we value party unity we should have either published it sooner or after a preliminary clarification of the essence of the Democratic Platform. But the decision was made in spite of our opinion and the document was published. If today we shrink from adopting a decree regarding this letter I can assure you that in two or three days our opponents will make decisions and take all the necessary actions. And we shall "lose" again. We must stay ahead of events. This is my profound conviction.

I cannot but note that the CPSU Central Committee Platform cannot be perceived as a consolidating document—this is my personal opinion. It requires serious reworking, individual sections of it were clearly written from different philosophical positions, and this apparently reflects the fundamental differences in the party Central Committee about which we know. In this situation I think that separation in the local areas should be preceded by solutions to similar problems at a special Central Committee plenum and I think we should demand that this plenum be held.

The open letter and the Central Committee platform proclaim once again the renewal of socialism, but they do not give a political analysis of the package of proposals that is already being implemented by our government. These measures include aspects we know about: price reform, the establishment of a stock exchange, state appropriation of property—and they are a kind of "shock therapy" with which we are familiar from the example of Poland. In this regard I think we shall soon know who is to receive the "shock." And today as never before it seems to me we need openness in the question of the coordination of this domestic policy with world tendencies and with the severe crisis of financial capital. I am convinced that we are underestimating these problems. Today we cannot but note that the policy being implemented in Eastern Europe and in our country undoubtedly corresponds to the interests of the International Monetary Fund and is linked to the sharp reduction of the real standard of living of the majority of the country's population, and with the existing instability of the situation, even this year it could lead to dramatic consequences with an inevitable crisis of power.

The revolution from above, according to my idea, has already exhausted itself, and a revolution from below is waiting for us. Whether we want to or not, we shall have to take charge of this process.

I think the city and oblast party committees, sharing the idea of all power to the soviets, should today as never before conduct political work among the population and oppose the incipient extremism and demagoguery, ambition and idle talk, and antisocialist tendencies and forces, regardless of the clothing in which they try to present themselves in the political arena.

#### **L.M. Pimenova, Spinning Loom Operator at the Combine imeni S.M. Kirov**

We live in a time when it is very easy to become a hero. For example, if you have criticized the obkom or gorkom you are already a hero. And if you have raised a threatening hand against the Central Committee you can generally be a hero twice. You look much worse when you find something positive in these organizations; in the present day you look much worse. I am not speaking of this in order to quell criticism from this podium, no, not for that. I myself use this podium only for criticism. I am speaking of this only because I have in my hands LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA for the 10th.

Understand me correctly. As a rank-and-file Communist I was very disturbed by this article and it motivated me to come up to the podium today. They have a label in every paragraph, in every paragraph. Tell me, please, what this article is calling on us rank-and-file communists to do. And what is it teaching us rank-and-file communists. Tell me, can two secretaries, a gorkom secretary and a party committee secretary, not find another form of communication besides attaching labels.

For example, I know Sokrat Germanovich as the secretary of the gorkom and here they are already writing "former gorkom secretary." For example, I know him as a sociable person who listens attentively to the opinions of rank-and-file communists—I have been in his office just as often as I have been in my party raykom. And they have always listened attentively to my opinion. I have reported not only my own personal opinion but also the opinion of my collective, and they have always listened attentively to me.

Comrades, all I am asking is that there be more correct and select forms of communication which will unite us and lead us on the same path and not along various narrow paths in different directions. I am just in favor of a single road and correct form in any forms of communication and the mass media.

#### **S.I. Sokolov, Head Architect of Leningrad**

In recent days I have been attending meetings in party organizations to nominate candidates for the forthcoming election campaigns. I myself am running for the party congress, as a candidate delegate to this congress. In this connection I would like to present certain observations and my position regarding the preliminary draft resolution. My first impression from the meetings is a surprising absolute ignorance of the positions both of the Democratic Platform and the Central Committee. One is clearly struck by the vapidness at these meetings, the lack of desire to discuss things. There is passivity and inertia among a certain mass of communists. I think that in this situation today it is being suggested that we separate on a very shaky theoretical platform with inertia of the party masses, and this reminds one most of all of the party purge that was conducted earlier.

In my family there are party members from before the revolution and my family has experienced everything the party has experienced throughout the entire history of its existence. I think separation in the party on a forced basis, as it is being proposed to us, is impossible. There is a great deal of fear that using force we shall cut off the most active and searching unit or part of our party. I have the feeling that the party will be left with the form of just the Central Committee and the authors of this letter. And we shall destroy the party. I think the separation that should take place, in the first place, should be structured on the individual view of each Communist with broad and open discussion of a clearly presented platform.

I do not think we have had a real discussion yet. Positions have not really been presented by proponents of both the trends—the Democratic Platform and the Central Committee platform. And the main thing is that there has been no discussion. Each group should have its own leader or group of leaders who defend their positions. A lack of form and direction from the standpoint of the individual in this situation, in my opinion, is simply incorrect.

I suggest holding an open discussion in the mass media, above all on television, where the positions of both trends will be presented. Possibly there are certain other positions, and this discussion should involve all the party masses of our organization.

In the draft of the plenum decision concerning the open letter to the Central Committee it should be accepted after it is accepted by a special plenum of the party Central Committee so that it will really represent the position of the majority of members of the Central Committee.

**A.K. Tammi, Member of the Presidium of the Council of Party Veterans Under the CPSU Obkom**

The speeches of certain comrades, particularly the secretary of the party gorkom, Yefimov, made a strange impression on me. I do not understand many of the leaders of the Leningrad party organization.

I have been around the block a couple of times. I am 84 years old and I have been in the party 65 years. I lived through the reversal of fortune during the Stalin regime. I have spent 18 years in Stalin's prisons and in the Norilsk camp. So I ask myself and also those who really suffered from the Stalinist regime. Did it ever occur to us that the party was bad, that it should be disbanded and we should create a new one and call it social-democratic, and so forth. No. Our position was unshakeable.

We were always faithful, mainly to Vladimir Ilich Lenin, and now there are people who want to criticize him. We always believed in the party and never equated Stalin and those around Stalin with the party, never! We believed that sooner or later the party would enter a Leninist path, we believed in this!

We did not go over to any other party when after the 20th Congress we were fully rehabilitated. We hurried back into the party. To the Communist Party! To the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! And we were restored to the party.

This is what we did. I think we did the right thing. And this is what everybody should do now. Although now is an alarming and difficult time, we must be able to select our place, be able to select our position. We must not vacillate! But there has been so much vacillation. And I must say that the situation is complicated in the lower party organizations. For example, in Vygorskiy Rayon at the Plant imeni Klimov where I am registered there is vacillation and the party committee is to blame for this vacillation. The plant director is a Communist who takes advantage of the fact that not all rank-and-file communists are sufficiently politically tempered and tries to cloud the issue and says the party should be driven out of the enterprise, and so forth. This is how far the director has gone! Do you understand?

Let us look at the debates at the plenum. In certain speeches the open letter of the Central Committee is regarded as incorrect, there are appeals not to accept it, and so forth.

Why that! Read the text of the letter. Why are you accusing the Central Committee of something for which it is not to blame? What do you want the Central Committee to do? "For consolidation on the basis of principle!" It should make sure that the party remains Communist, that it follows Lenin's behests. This is what the open letter of the Central Committee is calling for. And some of you comrades who have spoken are simply following in the tracks of those who, when speaking out on television against the open letter of the CPSU Central Committee, began to ridicule it in passing: That sorry excuse for a letter is not good for anything, and so forth. After all, this is a call for a split in the party. Do you understand? I think that certain people have essentially taken this position, whether deliberately or not. We must determine our position responsibly.

Let the group of Leningrad members of the Central Committee disagree with much that is in the letter of the Central Committee. Well, all right, they do not agree. And there are probably others who would vote for it. After all the Central Committee sent the draft of the letter out to everyone and you know that. So other comrades have expressed their opinion but they were in favor of this letter. You are against it—so what! The majority is in favor of it. So why discredit the Central Committee—you see, it adopted the letter privately within the framework of the apparatus, as SMENA reported it. They are trying to assure us that the party apparatus wants to bring the matter to the point of a split. This is how SMENA characterizes the open letter of the Central Committee. A disgrace. I repeat: This is a disgrace! This is how we as communists should regard such actions. But certain people are trying to defend

them. And the fact is that the party is not in favor of making groundless accusations and driving everyone out of the party. Not everyone!

Read it carefully. It must be figured out. Every Communist must find his place in this complicated situation. After all it is easy to complain about the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee. People are suggesting: Let us convene a Central Committee plenum. But why? To start the discussion again? Write down what you do not agree with, propose a solution, go to the oblast committee or the city committee which is supposed to gather these materials and send them to the party Central Committee, and the party congress will straighten out all these issues and proposals that arise.

Why is a Central Committee plenum needed? I do not understand. To be honest, you are raising this issue in vain, you are intelligent people. Many of you here have a higher education, you are doctors of sciences. Well, the devil knows what you have talked yourselves in to. I simply do not understand; as a Communist I do not understand this. After all there is the letter of the Central Committee and even if it is not entirely good and does not suit everyone, after all, the letter was sent out for discussion, and the Central Committee appealed to the party and party members—and was quite correct in doing so—for consolidation of the party on the basis of principles. But, of course, not in order to create a new social-democratic party. Our generation is familiar with this, it has already happened. At Lenin's suggestion the Social-democratic Party (the Bolsheviks) was called the Communist Party. You understand, that is the way it was. Why return to the old? We should consolidate and unite on this platform, on a platform of principles. This is what we must do, dear comrades! Your business as members of the party gorkoms and raykoms is to make decisions. But I think you should listen to the older people.

Here we are, a group of communists, old Bolsheviks, we have discussed this among ourselves in the soviet, we have had the obkom secretary here (Comrade Denisov), and we gave him a hard time. He probably remembers. Do you remember, Comrade Denisov? We were the first to speak, we also made a number of remarks addressed to the obkom and the Central Committee. Comrade Yefimov has spoken here—it is not working out well for him. You were secretary of the city party committee. You were young. I believed in you so much. And suddenly I heard a speech—it was neither here nor there. It will not work, it will not work that way! One must be a Bolshevik, a Leninist, one must fight for Lenin. And then you will be a real leader if you want to be one. And you can be. You can speak with people. But you must not beat around the bush, you must always proceed from party positions.

I personally call for members of the CPSU obkom and gorkom to approve and adopt this open letter of the Central Committee. I think it is basically correct, and it

should be recommended that all party organizations organize extensive discussion of it. But people like Sobchak, Boldyrev, and Afanasyev should not be allowed to slander the party. We should kick them out of the party, they are not communists! And they are the ones who are leading our party to a split! And we should not allow a split, the party should be Communist and Leninist. This is what the party veterans favor!

**O.A. Ignatov, Chief of the Leningrad Main Administration for Housing Construction and Repair [Glavleningradremstroy]**

We economic planners frequently exchange opinions and evaluations and come to the almost unanimous conclusion that a mass of all kinds of programs have been created in the country in the past five years. And not a single one of them is being implemented as successfully as the program for tearing the CPSU apart. Purposefully, consistently, and, one must say, effectively. I would like to say that we involuntarily participate in this process as members of the oblast and city party committee.

A strange impression is formed concerning the first joint plenum on the results of last year's elections. They evaluated the events and adopted a fairly good program. The next plenum also seemed to be directed toward a result, but in everyday life—I do not know about you, but I do not see any real, energetic work for realizing the program that was adopted or increasing its influence in the party. In this connection I wish to express my fundamental viewpoint. The abolition of the notorious Article 6 means an abolition of our monopoly on power but not an abolition of our struggle for power. I do not think this struggle is being waged as it should be at present in the activity of the Leningrad party organization, the oblast and city committees, and their bureaus. We, Comrades, are not fighting for influence in the party, for power in the party. And I would like this to be reflected in the decisions of today's plenum, for it is neither the letter nor aspects of it that should be discussed. There is a crisis situation in the party and the country, there is a political struggle, and the essence of it is who will get the upper hand.

Now about platforms. Tell me who, frankly speaking, now recalls the Leningrad ideological platform in the local party organizations? Since the time of its adoption it has been pushed into the background by the Democratic Platform, and then the platform of the Central Committee, and then the platform of the Russian Communist Party. I will not name all the others that have appeared during the process of preparing for and conducting the elections. What can we expect?

The platform of the Leningrad party organization was marked by defeat in the elections, and there were many social, economic, and other trends. Why can we not now, when preparing for the joint party conference, quickly, enlisting our scientists and party organizations and taking into account the real situation in the party, work



out at least the political part of our platform? We should submit it to the Central Committee so as to stand firmly and unite as many communists as we can on this platform, but then we should stand with our feet on the ground and stand on it and draw people to it. And in this struggle I think we shall also find leaders who are no less capable than those we often see on our television screens.

I personally would take much from the Democratic Platform of the CPSU and put it in the program which will undoubtedly be developed at the Leningrad joint conference and the 28th CPSU Congress. Therefore I consider it categorically inadmissible to divide the party into "reds" and "whites." I support the opinion of the secretary of the party committee of the Avangard Association, Tyulkin, that the Democratic Platform has proponents and there are leaders who are openly leading things to a split in the CPSU. There is no place in the CPSU for these people who would split it from within, who in the newspapers openly call for dividing the party without leaving the CPSU, seizing it and then looking to see who to leave in it. I think all participants in the plenum hold the same position in this regard.

As concerns the proponents of one platform or the other, let us not cut through the flesh, let us in a normal discussion, in a work situation, expressing our position, fight for each Communist. This is the only way we can win.

As concerns the procedure and criteria for separation within the party, I think they are quite unsuitable. By applying our Leningrad criteria of whom to consider and whom not to consider a party member, excuse me, but we are switching not to a federative but to an oblast basis. And if the CPSU Central Committee adopts other criteria? Will we in Leningrad have our own CPSU?

Therefore I would not consider it impossible to adopt the decree in its proposed form. In particular, I suggest taking the open letter from the CPSU Central Committee under advisement—it has been published, it is already in effect, and therefore it must be discussed. But I think, this should not be done without making an entry addressed to the CPSU Central Committee of a separate point which demands or recommends that at a special Central Committee plenum it consider the situation in the party and adopt a decree concerning separation according to position and by name so as finally to figure out who is who in the Central Committee and the Politburo today. We cannot do without this. We shall move forward only after this.

This must also be done in the Leningrad party organization. Rayon conferences are in progress, we are preparing for the oblast conference, and we have the opportunity to express our views with respect to the platforms. I think that at this plenum of the CPSU Central Committee we should consider not only the question of separation but also the question of our position in the party, and adopt a more clear cut and principle-oriented decree rather than the theses and ideas expressed in the open letter.

Our position in the party is significantly more serious and here we must not be late again. We must finally take principle-oriented positions.

And one more question. I would consider it necessary at this plenum to adopt an appeal to the CPSU Central Committee and express in the form of a decree or a declaration our attitude toward the changeover of the economy to a plan-market orientation which is just beginning. We have already met with leaders of construction projects and calculated that possibly up to 50 percent of the workers will be unemployed in the first stage and the standard of living as a whole will decline sharply. Who will take political responsibility for this happening in the country? Apparently all this will fall on the shoulders of the CPSU.

Yet it is known that Comrades Popov, Afanasyev, and other members of the Interregional Group, leaders of the Democratic Platform, and so forth are actively in favor of this. If we do not determine now who is the specific initiator of this and who is responsible for the consequences, who will receive the political dividends? Apparently both we and the Central Committee should anticipate whom this shock therapy will hit and what will happen after that.

Therefore I would ask the plenum to consider this question and ask the Central Committee to make a statement regarding the question of political responsibility for changing the economy over to being a market economy.

### Leningrad Party Reacts to 'Open Letter'

90UN1667B Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 1

[Decree of the Joint Plenum of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom on the "Open Letter From the CPSU Central Committee to Communists of the Country"]

[Text] Having considered the "Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee to Communists of the Country," the joint plenum of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom [oblast committee] and Gorkom [city committee] hereby decrees:

1. To take under advisement the "Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee to Communists of the Country" and discuss it in all the local party organizations before the combined conference of Leningrad and the oblast. The party committees and bureaus are to increase discussion of pre-congress party documents and make every effort so that it will proceed in a truly democratic, friendly, and creative atmosphere and contribute to the consolidation of healthy forces in the CPSU during the course of preparations for the 28th Party Congress.

2. The party raykoms and gorkoms, in keeping with the points of the "Open Letter From the CPSU Central Committee," must find a fundamental solution to the

problem of the membership in the CPSU of leaders of factions who have rejected program and fundamental principles of the party and are following a course toward a split. They must pay attention to those communists who, having been deluded, have not been able to figure out the real goals of the organizers of the faction struggle and correctly assess the restructuring that is going on in the party.

3. The plenum of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom considers it necessary to conduct a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee immediately with discussion of the state of affairs in the party, which should provide an example of ideological separation and organizational purging of leaders who everyone knows are leading to a split of the CPSU from within.

4. Comrade Yu.A. Denisov, A.K. Varsobin, and G.I. Pankov are to provide for constant reporting in the mass media and on the pages of *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA* and *LENINGRADSKIY RABOCHIY* of the course of work in the party organizations of Leningrad and the oblast for the ideological and organizational purification of the CPSU.

#### **Gidasov on Local Party-Soviet Relations**

90UN1658D Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*  
in Russian 6 Apr 90 p 1

[Statement by USSR People's Deputy B.V. Gidasov, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom: "What Is Behind The Accusations"; first two paragraphs are paper's introduction]

[Text] Under the heading "We Are Electing a Democratic Oblast Committee" the newspaper *SMENA* yesterday published an appeal from communist deputies and proponents of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU to all Leningrad Communists. The authors of this appeal—people's deputies of the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Leningrad Soviet—expressing the fear that the Leningrad Party Obkom [oblast committee] is attempting to block the activity of the newly elected city soviet, are calling for Communists to elect only proponents of the Democratic Platform as delegates to the combined Leningrad party conference.

V. Koshvanets, chief of our newspaper's division for party and state construction, met yesterday in Smolnyy with USSR People's Deputy B.V. Gidasov, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom [city committee], and asked him to comment on this document.

The appeal by the people's deputies who are proponents of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU to Leningrad Communists evokes contradictory feelings in me. I can quite understand their concern about the condition of the Leningrad party organization and their wish to renew the oblast party committee and augment it with modern-thinking, energetic people.

But the arguments of the authors of the appeal seemed to me incorrect to say the least. Allow me to ask the colleague deputies if they have cause to suspect the party obkom of trying to block the work of the new Leningrad Soviet. For such suspicions are actually tantamount to declaring the obkom members to be "enemies of the people" if, of course, they have in mind the fact that the Leningrad Soviet is there to defend the people's interests. This sounds strange coming from people from whose mouths the word "democracy" has been heard. And it is doubly unusual to hear such a thing from communist-deputies who should be well aware that neither the obkom nor the gorkom nor the local party organizations exerted any pressure on the voters during the course of the elections and did not even send their observers to the election precincts. Under the conditions of a single-party system we considered this position justified, although many communists had serious complaints about this.

In this accusation against the obkom one can see a not very well hidden desire to insure themselves ahead of time against possible failures and mistakes and to share with someone the responsibility for the problems which will be very difficult to solve. I think this is in vain: Leningraders understand quite well that the city cannot be brought out of the condition it is in in a short time without help, although, of course, any people's deputy automatically becomes a "responsible" worker and he cannot reduce or increase this responsibility.

Moreover, an attempt to place pressure on Communists of the city and oblast and the desire somehow to pre-empt their election of delegates to the oblast party conference and candidates for leadership party organs seem improper to me. But the election procedure that has now been adopted in the Leningrad party organization seems to be directed toward allowing each communist to determine independently whom he is trusting to represent his organization in the collegial party organs and why. And today it is hardly necessary to call for voting for a particular candidate simply because he supports the democratic or any other platform. Moreover, the authors of the appeal do not trouble themselves with explanations of the advantages of the Democratic Platform over the platform of the CPSU Central Committee or the platform of the Leningrad Communists. I cannot engage in an analysis of the Democratic Platform now either. I shall simply note that in terms of its ideology it is a document which from my viewpoint is extremely eclectic, in which it is difficult to recognize the social goals of the organization, its philosophy, and its work methods.

And the last thing. The authors of the appeal assert that dual rule was actually established in Leningrad after the elections. Between the lines here it is easy to see a reproach to the party obkom for its stubborn unwillingness to transfer the power to the soviets. I also have said repeatedly that the obkom is prepared at any time to transfer all the reins of economic control of the city along with all the "nomenklatura ties in all units of the party-

soviet-economic apparatus" to the Leningrad Soviet. And, welcoming the first session of the Leningrad Soviet of the new convocation yesterday and wishing the deputies success in their difficult job of restoring Leningrad, I had in mind also the readiness of all party organs to render all kinds of assistance and support to the deputies. So let us put a stop to "reproaches and suspicions" and get down to work. This is precisely what the Lenin-graders are expecting.

### Leningrad Soviet Continues First Session

90UN17134 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 18 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by V. Koshvanets and A. Ozhegov: "Speaking of Interests"]

[Text] What concerns many, if not all of the Leningrad City Soviet deputies most? Is it political or economic and administrative problems in the life of the city with a population of 5 million? Someone could object right away that this is a tactless question, at least because any administrative problems inevitably become political ones and that is especially true now—with the consumer goods shortages and industrial crises. Thus we cannot compare one with the other.

In theory it is true. But in practice? It has already happened more than once that certain deputies suggested a discussion of providing "patronage" to the villages around Leningrad. It is almost time to start sowing but the sovkhozniks [state farmers], especially those who grow vegetables, still do not know if the citizens are going to show up in the fields to help them weed and cultivate the crops. And only knowing this they can decide what and in what amounts to sow because they do not have sufficient resources of their own to provide quality care of the crops on all of their fields.

But this particular discussion kept being moved to the "other" category on the agenda and finally was postponed till later.

Yesterday, finally, not long before the morning break, the session started putting together a temporary deputies' working group on city food supplies. We need not explain that this problem is of the utmost importance and that the fate of the Leningrad City Soviet itself as well as the voters' confidence in it will in many ways depend on its solution. We remembered, for instance, how painstaking and thorough was the process of creating the commission on the press and Leningrad publishers by the deputies the day before and therefore we expected that now they would take as much time as necessary.

However, the entire procedure for nominating and approving the ten members of the working group did not take any time at all. It happened just as it used to in the best of the "stagnation" days. They did not discuss the nominees, they did not vote on each name separately. They were approved by one vote for the entire group and K.A. Mitchin, a leading engineer of the First Leningrad Medical Institute

imeni Academician I.P. Pavlov, was selected as its chairman. We do not have any doubts that the new chairman is a decent and wonderful person but, honestly, we would have felt more at ease if the working group were headed by a deputy more involved with agriculture. We have something to do with the food program also, at least as potential food consumers.

Now we should try to figure out whether things administrative are of any interest for our parliamentarians. That question, by the way, was asked yesterday by USSR People's Deputy A.I. Demidov in his speech. He himself gave a categorical answer: Not of much interest so far.

We will abstain from rash judgments for now but we feel sorry if it is true. Whatever you say, it is administrative decisions that a considerable majority of the voters expect from the new Leningrad City Soviet, decisions which will make our lives easier and provide social protection for the people. This was confirmed by the results of a recent telephone poll in Leningrad. The results were given to the deputies yesterday by an employee of the Leningrad sociological science and research center, A.A. Veykher. For instance, 45 percent of those polled are convinced a lot more than before that the Leningrad City Soviet will change their lives for the better. In our times it is an enormous trust. But at the same time, about 50 percent of the responders see certain confusion in the actions of the council as well as rally-like habits and avoidance of basic city problems. And as we see it the deputies have something to think about in that.

They were asked to do this at the previous session also. Deputy A.P. Sazonov, for instance, called upon his colleagues to make their discussions more constructive. He reminded the deputies that one day of the session costs the city R10,000-R15,000. That reminder is related to the same question: What is of more interest for us—words or actions? Most of the previous day was spent discussing the temporary regulations on the Leningrad presidium but the problem remained open.

The temporary regulations on the presidium were finally approved by the session, it is true. And Deputy A.N. Belyayev, head of the organizational committee working group on Leningrad City Soviet structure and personnel, was accepting legitimate congratulations. Together with his colleagues, Aleksandr Nikolayevich resolved a truly complicated problem and, in essence, created a model for a new organ of city power.

In the discussion they used what Deputy G.S. Vasyutochkin, a candidate of science and a mathematician, called in his speech "a successive approximation method." The people's deputies were approaching a consensus slowly but consistently. They argued and made dozens of suggestions. Deputy A.I. Kadyshevich showed us the draft copy covered entirely with corrections and additions.

She included just as many of them in the alternate drafts of the "Regulations on the Leningrad City Soviet Chairman and His Deputies." And if they have alternate

drafts they will not do without a discussion. How do we select a chairman? Do we do it by the deputies' vote or by the vote of all Leningraders?

The debate among the deputies went on for a long time. But so far none of the alternate drafts has been accepted, not even as the basis for further discussion. But in our opinion, the majority of the deputies lean towards the all-city direct vote. And we understand what goal the deputies are trying to pursue. It is the need to get a special, republic-like status for Leningrad. For that the city needs a strong and independent chairman who will have the immediate support of hundreds of thousands of Leningraders.

Gaining the status worthy of our great city is the goal which would serve to unite the deputies—that is according to O.V. Basilashvili, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and Leningrad City Soviet people's deputy, USSR people's artist. Here is a short interview with him:

[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA] What is easier for you as an actor—to become a character in a play or to become a people's deputy in life?

[Basilashvili] The difference is not that big. Especially since I used to get involved in people's concerns and cares before; only now I have a deputy's card in my pocket.

[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA] What is especially remarkable about the session?

[Basilashvili] A sincere desire to find the truth, which everybody sees in his own way. But our native Leningrad is our main concern and the main interest.

At the end of the session yesterday Deputy N.V. Veretenikov suggested that the session consider a draft letter to the CPSU oblast party committee with a proposal for the party organs to pay all expenses necessary to celebrate the 120th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birthday. We have to tell you right away that the proposal was not accepted and it caused a considerable negative reaction and indignation among many deputies. In their speeches the deputies tried to emphasize the importance of Lenin as the founder of our socialist state—the land of the soviets—and not only as the creator of the CPSU. And that means that Lenin's anniversary is also an important event in the life and work of the soviet in the city bearing his name.

#### **Leningrad Local Repeat Elections Results**

90UN1747A Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*  
in Russian 22 Apr 90 p 1

[Communique of Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies Presidium: "On the Results of Repeat Elections of People's Deputies of the City, Rayon, City of Rayon Subordination, Settlement, and Rural Soviets of People's Deputies of Leningrad Oblast of the 21st Term on 19 April 1990"]

[Text] The Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies Presidium has received data from the presidiums of city

and rayon soviets on the results of elections of people's deputies of the city, rayon, city of rayon subordination, settlement, and rural soviets of people's deputies of Leningrad Oblast of the 21st term. Elections were held in 452 districts of city soviets of people's deputies, in 62 districts of rayon soviets of people's deputies, in 127 districts of city of rayon subordination soviets of people's deputies, in 303 districts of settlement soviets of people's deputies, and in 686 districts of rural soviets of people's deputies.

Three thousand and eighty-nine candidates ran in the districts.

People's deputies were elected in 1,256 districts.

The voter turnout was as follows: in elections of city soviets—61.8 percent; rayon soviets—64.0 percent; city soviets of rayon subordination—61.1 percent; settlement soviets—67.9 percent; rural soviets—71.7 percent of all voters in the respective electoral districts.

In 514 electoral districts for the elections of city and rayon soviets of people's deputies of Leningrad Oblast, 356 people received the necessary number of votes. Women account for 18 percent of the deputies elected, members and candidate members of the CPSU for 70.5 percent, workers for 19.7 percent, and people under 30 for 10.1 percent. From among the deputies elected, 98.3 percent work and 97.8 percent reside on the territory of respective soviets. In 62 districts, repeat elections will be held, and in 96 districts, runoffs.

Eighty-two percent of the deputies are new.

Nine hundred people were elected in 1,118 electoral districts in elections to the city soviets subordinated to rayons, settlement, and rural soviets of Leningrad Oblast. Women account for 43.3 percent of the deputies elected, CPSU members and candidate members for 38 percent, workers for 37.9 percent, and people under 30 for 12.7 percent; 92.8 percent reside and 96.7 percent work on the territory of respective soviets. Repeat elections will be held in 90 districts. Runoffs will be held in 128 electoral districts. As a result of elections to the city soviets subordinated to rayons, settlement, and rural soviets the composition of the deputies was 79.0 percent renewed.

*Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies Presidium*

#### **27 April Session of Leningrad Party Meeting**

90UN1834C Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*  
in Russian 28 Apr 90 p 1

[LenTASS report: "The Joint Conference of the Leningrad Oblast and City CPSU Organization: For Renewal, for the Consolidation of Forces"]

[Text] B.V. Gidasov has been elected first secretary and bureau member of the CPSU Leningrad Obkom [oblast party committee]. It was with this report on the result of the secret ballot that the work of the joint 29th oblast and



27th city conference of the Leningrad CPSU organization continued its work yesterday at Tavricheskiy Palace.

During the course of the discussion of procedures for the election of bureau members and party obkom secretaries, the delegates decided by a majority to entrust the obkom plenum with the task of nominating candidates who would be confirmed by the congress. On the same day a CPSU obkom plenum took place devoted to this question. Delegates started to discuss the nominations made by the plenum and at the conference

It was decided to rescind the resolution of the joint plenum of the party obkom and gorkom "On the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee to the Country's Communists" as a political error capable of promoting a split in the Leningrad party organization during the period of the preconference debate.

It was also a question of communists' attitude toward the initiative of the congress of the Russian Communist Party. The joint conference expressed itself in favor in principle of creating an RSFSR Communist Party after the 28th CPSU Congress, and noted that convening an organizing congress for the communists of Russia as part of the CPSU would be largely premature

A resolution was adopted on urgent measures to provide assistance for collectives in the agroindustrial complex.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Yu.D. Maslyukov responded to delegates' questions

The conference delegates sent a telegram of greetings to those attending the meeting of veterans of the Great Patriotic War, Heroes of the Soviet Union, and full holders of the Order of Glory devoted to the 45th anniversary of the Great Victory; that meeting took place yesterday in the Soviet Army House of Officers imeni S.M. Kirov.

The conference continued its work on 5 May

### Leningrad Raykom Discusses Party Rules

90UN1708A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 90 p 1

[A. Ozhegov report: "Vote of Confidence"]

[Text] The parliamentary expression "vote of confidence" still sounds unusual when applied to party life. But in our time of political struggle for power and for ideological influence on the minds of contemporaries this term is being encountered with increasing frequency in the press when the activity of party committees is being evaluated

The following fact attests to the unconditional support by the delegates to the Vasileostrovskaya conference for "their" raykom [rayon party committee]: only approximately 10 percent of them voted for the 51st rayon

conference to be also a report and election conference, that is, with the election of another raykom and, accordingly, new secretaries. The rest were decisively opposed. So the vote of confidence was essentially complete and, it may be said, mutual. In the sense that the members of the bureau and the raykom in no way attempted to "overorganize matters."

On the contrary, the elective activists and party officials largely also put their trust in the impending collective discussion, rightly calculating that in democratic debate the delegates could, without prepared "instructions," themselves formulate the best solutions of the problems associated with the discussion—on the agenda—of the draft Party Central Committee platform and CPSU Rules, the Vasileostrovskaya party organization's transition to self-financing, and the election by the delegates to the Leningrad joint conference of members of the executive bodies of the oblast party organization.

And, you know, the endeavor to achieve a mutual vote of confidence, so to speak, was entirely justified. Supporters of the "Democratic Platform" tried in vain to find in the auditorium "points of support" for the delimitation of the delegates. At the time of election of the conference presidium even a proposal was heard from an open microphone that the candidates nominated for this working body declare prior to the voting on which platform they stood, otherwise "the conference could move in only one direction."

The proposal did not pass. The delegates soundly reasoned that a meeting in a common timeframe could not move in various directions. Following debate, agreement was reached on the main point—it was necessary to proceed by way of the consolidation and integration of different views and opinions.

However, even in the discussion of the agenda and the standing orders there had to be use of the three open microphones

Lines formed at them. One was joined at times by N.N. Korablev, first secretary of the raykom, and the secretaries of the biggest party committees of Vasilevskiy Island—V.V. Venkov of the "Baltiyskiy Zavod," O.Ye. Polyakov of the university, S.O. Zakharov of the "Zavod imeni Kalinin," S.A. Stepanov of the Association imeni Kozitskiy, and other party officials. They explained, argued, proved

Only the procedural questions concerning the break for dinner and its "standing orders" passed unremarked upon. But that was everyday business. But political matters

Following the unsuccessful attempt to have a resolution adopted on in fact no confidence in the raykom and the conversion of the conference into a report and election conference, the supporters of the Democratic Platform did not retreat but emphatically initiated discussion of the draft Party Central Committee Platform and the CPSU Rules. Yes, the discussion was interesting. No

one, generally speaking, took exception: There are many current propositions in the Democratic Platform that deserve attention. But for all that, there was no discussion on the subject of delineation and a split in the party, which the latter-day "social democrats" from the CPSU perhaps desired.

The debate amounted—in accordance with the wishes of the majority of those present—to a study and analysis of the platforms and the ascertainment of the best propositions for the purpose of enriching the draft CPSU Platform. There is no mistake here. The delegates spoke not about a document of the Central Committee but of the whole party. This decision was adopted by the conferees following a vote.

A typical example. When the candidacy of D.D. Kedrov, senior supervisory foreman of the Baltiyskiy Zavod, for delegate to the Leningrad joint conference was being discussed, to the question of which was the better platform he replied:

"I believe that we should take the best from each draft to create for the 28th CPSU Congress a real, modern, party platform."

The delegates familiarized themselves with the report of S.A. Oyateva, chairman of the Draft CPSU Rules Commission and secretary of the "All-Union Aluminum-Magnesium Institute" Science-Production Association party committee, who had analyzed dozens, hundreds of proposals received from the primary party organizations from the viewpoint of a broadening of their rights and the development of their independence, and agreed with additions proposed to this end and also with the clarifications concerning a strengthening of individual (personal) rights of members of the CPSU in the party rules.

Many questions had arisen for the delegates in connection with the transition to self-financing of the rayon party organization. The exchange of opinions once again took place under the sign of discussion of the draft party platform, which provides for the right of the primary organizations to really influence the work and decisions of the superior party authorities. The conference resolved as of 1 June to switch to financial autonomy and open a Vasileostrovskaya party organization checking account in the Industrial Construction Bank.

In accordance with a proposal of the Komintern Science-Production Association delegation, a resolution was adopted in support of the creation of a communist party of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] in accordance with the path of its organization proposed by the CPSU Central Committee. At the same time the conference opposed the hasty organization of a so-called "constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party" in Leningrad. More, the actions of its organizers and the authors of the Russian Communist Party Platform were deemed unacceptable since they are "objectively aimed at splitting the party prior to the 28th Congress."

In accordance with a proposal of delegates of the university, the conference also adopted a resolution on the attitude toward the "Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee," which deemed it contrary to the policy of the party's democratization.

The working commissions of the raykom were instructed to continue to collate and analyze the proposals of the Communists of Vasilevskiy Island pertaining to the draft Central Committee Platform and the CPSU Rules.

The conference elected to the obkom [oblast party committee], among other delegates, the following members of the Vasileostrovskiy Raykom: party committee Secretaries V.V. Venkov of the "Baltiyskiy Zavod" and N.I. Rozhdestvenskiy of the Komintern Science-Production Association, and N.N. Korablev, first secretary of the raykom.

Yu.A. Denisov, secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, took part in the conference.

#### **Petrograd Raykom on Party Rules, Platform**

90UNI708B Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 17 Apr 90 p 1

[I. Losev report: "The Platform From Which We Are Leaving"]

[Text] On 13 April 542 delegates gathered in the Assembly Hall of the Petrogradskiy Raykom [Rayon Party Committee] to express their attitude toward the draft CPSU Platform and Rules and the creation of a Russian Communist Party, and to elect members of the executive authorities of the Leningrad Oblast CPSU organization and the delegates to the upcoming joint 29th oblast and 27th city conference of Leningrad's Communists.

The report was delivered by Yu.Ye. Rakov, first secretary of the raykom. Analyzing the state of affairs in the party and affirming the decline in the authority of the CPSU illustrated by the Leningrad electorate in the course of the recent election campaign, the speaker observed that people "voted against representatives of the governing party out of doubts as to the capacity of the CPSU in its present character to extricate the country from the crisis." One of the main reasons for this, in Yu.Ye. Rakov's opinion, is the fact that against the background of unconcealed attempts to counterpose the CPSU to the people and mold from the Communists an "enemy image" and to identify socialism with violence, terror, and the omnipotence of the bureaucracy, the party leadership has frequently been late in evaluating the situation and responding promptly.

"A clear example of the detachment of the CPSU Central Committee leadership from the actual state of affairs in the party," the speaker said, "is the situation that has taken shape since the adoption by Leningrad's Communists of their platform and their formulation of the

question of the convening of a special Central Committee plenum. The so-called 'democratic press' here and those who are behind it immediately understood the entire danger of the Leningrad initiatives and did everything to disavow them and present them as being counter to the oblast organization, the Central Committee, and the 'entire party.' No heed has been paid to Leningraders' opinion."

A significant place in the report was assigned to a comparative analysis of the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform and the "Democratic Platform."

Without unconditionally accepting either platform, the speaker said that instead of answers to most important questions of the present day and determination of the CPSU's precise position in respect of the restructuring processes, the Central Committee Platform gets by with slogans, while the "Democratic Platform" proposes an orientation toward private property as a panacea against all problems.

Pointing to the danger of a split which had emerged in the party, the speaker turned to the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee to the country's Communists. He said that the letter clearly and convincingly reveals the danger of the path onto which supporters of the Democratic Platform are pushing the party, attempting to disavow the fundamental ideological and organizational principles of CPSU activity. While declaring themselves consistent communist democrats, they are essentially renouncing communist ideals and socialist ideas and are bent on bourgeois democracy.

"The purpose of the 'Democratic Platform' is clear," the raykom secretary said. "It is to turn the CPSU into an ineffective shapeless association with complete freedom of faction, that is, to wreck it and remove it from the political scene. Such an approach is an outright betrayal of the party and needs serious political evaluation.

"Not all of the Communist rank-and-file who have given preference to the 'Democratic Platform' should be put down as members of the opposition," Ye.Ye. Rakov went on to emphasize. "The position must be firm and unequivocal in respect of the organizers and leaders of factions: dissociation, and at once. People who have by their behavior and views placed themselves outside of the party should not be in the CPSU ranks. No party is worth a thing without unity and the consolidation of its ranks. The raykom believes that the time has come for each Communist to determine his position."

During discussion of the report the argument was mainly between the supporters of the CPSU Central Committee Platform and the "Democratic Platform." G.I. Dmitriyeva, director of the S.M. Kirov Museum, for example, believed that the Democratic Platform could not be the platform of a renewal of the party and that the abandonment of democratic centralism would lead to the disintegration of the party, which is confirmed by the experience of foreign parties. At the same time, however,

V.V. Kalashnikov, a delegate from the Leningrad Electrical Engineering Institute, said that the institute's Communists supported the constructive part of the Democratic Platform and that they advocated the democratization, not the liquidation, of the CPSU.

Many of the speakers noted that the mass media were not so much reflecting as shaping public opinion and that distortions in the analysis of this platform or the other were leading to a distorted idea of it among the Communists. N.N. Soboleva, secretary of the "Krasnoye Znamya" Association party committee, called the delegates' attention to the fact that perestroika in the USSR was being defended in PRAVDA by Americans and Frenchmen, Germans and Britons, but that our ideologists preferred to remain silent.

B.V. Gidasov, first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] and Gorkom [City Party Committee], participated in the conference. He said in his brief speech that following discussion by a joint plenum of the obkom and gorkom, the Central Committee letter had been noted and formed the basis of the document which, following discussion in the party organizations of Leningrad and the oblast, would be forwarded by the Leningrad party committee to the CPSU Central Committee.

"The time has most likely come to draw the line," Boris Veniaminovich said. "But this does not mean that we need to conduct a purge in the party."

"The party holds to the positions of adherence to the socialist choice and the ideas of October, and the principles of social justice, nations' free self-determination, and the all-around development of each member of our society, and the center of party policy is man," the decision of the party conference records. Calling for everything intelligent and progressive to be taken from the CPSU Central Committee Platform, the Democratic Platform, and the platform of Leningrad's Communists, the conference delegates observed that only on the path of consolidation of all the party's healthy forces could the goals facing the CPSU be achieved. The delegates consider a principal task of all the rayon's party organizations preservation of the integrity of the CPSU ranks, a strengthening of Communists' ideological conviction, and their education on fidelity to socialist ideals and the cause of October.

Concerning the idea of the creation of a Russian Communist Party, the conference deemed it expedient for the rayon's Communists to participate in the Russian Communist Party action congress.

As a result of a secret ballot B.V. Gidasov, who collected 282 votes, and V.V. Kalashnikov, delegate of the Leningrad Electrical Engineering Institute, 260, were elected to the Leningrad Obkom from the Petrogradskiy Rayon party organization. The conference adopted the decision to delegate its authority in respect of the choice of a further six members of the obkom to the oblast party

conference. It was decided to hold the report and election conference of the Petrogradskiy Rayon CPSU organization after the 28th Party Congress.

It is said that the train of history will not wait. Given the present multitude of platforms, it is so easy to make a mistake and take the wrong "train." The majority of Communists of the Petrograd side have made their choice—they are on the CPSU Central Committee Platform.

### Continued Leningrad Soviet Session Detailed

90UN1751A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by Z. Fedorova: "How Should the Bridge Be Built?"; published under the rubric: "The Leningrad Soviet Session Continues"]

[Text] There is a parable about how the people resolved to build a bridge and then began to argue about how to build it—along the river or across it. It seems that the parable is not so innocuous after all. Such situations also happen in real life.

This very analogy was cited yesterday at the end of the day by one of the deputies. It pertained to practically the whole meeting.

It would be fair to call yesterday the day of unmade decisions.

It began with a report by A.A. Belkin, chairman of the credentials commission. The question of acknowledging the authority of Deputies I.L. Sokolov (321st Electoral District) and G.A. Orlov (44th District) was raised. The irregular situations, as they now say, arising in these two districts were discussed. They were discussed long and laboriously. And as a result neither conflict was resolved. Many questions remained unanswered, and the commission itself could not come to a decision. And so the deputies returned both disputes to the commission "for revision." It is a pity but, as they say, it is a fact. Time has been lost. And those who were commissioned to examine the conflicts did not take a concise, clear, and, I should add, unified position on the issue.

Deputy A.A. Kovalev has been insisting for several days that the question "On a Procedure for the Sale and Transfer of Buildings, Structures, and Lodgings" be included on the session's agenda. He persists with colossal energy worthy of better use. I say this because when he finally succeeded with great effort in entering the item on the agenda yesterday, it turned out that the issue was not yet ready because not one but two drafts of the ruling existed and of course it was impossible to combine them mechanically. In addition it would have been more ethical, when criticizing the executive committee of the last convocation, to have heard it out as well. Would it not have made more sense, when submitting the issue to the session, to have taken all these circumstances into account beforehand? In other words,

to resolve in good time that same question: How should the bridge be built: Along or across the river?

Yes, of course the present deputies are not the first or the last to take a few bruises and lumps in a business that is new for them. I would like to think that it will all come around in the end and that understanding, experience, and wisdom will come with time. And I also hope that when any issue is being decided—large or small—common sense will always come out on top.

"But today there is some basis for doubt," said V.Z. Vasilyev to me during a break. "As you have noticed, I speak several times per day. Why, for instance, did I ask to speak today? Because I am convinced that there is an effort underway to torpedo one of the main issues of the soviet's work—the provisional statute on the work of the standing commissions. There is no doubt that the standing deputy commissions are necessary, but I have serious doubts for instance about the types that are being proposed to us and the number of them. In my view the deputy commissions should not repeat the structure of the existing departments of the executive commission, because they should not be specifically executive subunits."

It seems to me that the Leningrad Soviet does not need the 25 commissions that have been proposed by the organizational committee. They should cover the most crucial questions, like urban planning and land use, housing policy, the food problem, the military-industrial complex and conversion, and problems of self-management. But I have my doubts that a commission on industry, for example, can work productively—the bounds of its activities are too great. Or whether a commission on emergency situations is needed—these issues, when they arise, are decided by the chairman of the executive committee, who creates a special commission.

So that we do not have to re-invent the wheel, it would suit us to take a look at what was created before us.

The words of Deputy Vasilyev seemed very reasonable to me. But unfortunately he did not succeed in shouting sense into everyone in the audience. One must suppose that everything will remain as it was with the commissions.

I say "did not succeed in shouting" because often one has to act just this way. Yesterday the chairman more than once called the deputies to order. The very thing they were supposed to be on the watch for.

### Bashkir Temporary Obkom Chief Interviewed

90UN1297C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY  
in Russian No 12, 24-30 Mar 90 p 8

[Report on interview with I. Gorbunov, chairman of the Bashkir Oblast CPSU Committee temporary bureau, by N. Zyatkov and L. Novikova, in the oblast committee building in Ufa; date not specified: "Following the Resignation of the Oblast Committee"]

[Text] The resignation of party obkoms [oblast committees] in various areas of the Soviet Union no longer



comes as a surprise to anyone. In ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 6, we discussed "a grassroots revolution" in Volgograd.

I. Gorbunov, chairman of the temporary buro of the Bashkir CPSU Obkom, is our interlocutor today. The whole leadership of this obkom resigned in January.

[Gorbunov] People refer to what has happened here as "a palace coup" or "a velvet revolution." The point is that the gorkom [city party committee] or, more precisely, its First Secretary R. Gareyev... became the initiator of the obkom resignation. In our opinion the obkom buro headed by Khabibullin turned out to be unfit...

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] The people are aware of the unseemly actions of former obkom First Secretary Shakhmurov. It appeared that this was a lesson to be remembered. Why did they approach the election of the new obkom secretary so lightly—after all, Khabibullin was here for merely two and one-half years, he came here late, already at the high point of perestroika?

[Gorbunov] They brought him from Moscow, from the Central Committee. He is a good man, a good economic manager. However, he had absolutely no experience in party work. He was used to ordering oilmen around all his life.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What do you mean by "brought him from the Central Committee?" There are specific people behind every deed.

[Gorbunov] Participants in the plenum were not able to stand up to the pressure the Central Committee brought to bear, in particular, to G. Kryuchkov, former deputy head of the Department of Organizational Party Work, who "brought" us the new secretaries—Khabibullin and Korovikov. The latter, as we were told, should have known the republic well because he was its administrator in the Central Committee.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How large was the obkom buro?

[Gorbunov] Eleven members and five candidates. For some reason, all of them in unison drafted their petitions and resigned one or two days before the plenum although, as I know, not all of them were of the same mind on this. Apparently, they understood that they were not successful as political leaders.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Is there a real force among the informals in Bashkiria that could compete with the party?

[Gorbunov] I would not say that. Recently, I asked the leaders of informal associations to meet. About 30 people gathered. I asked them to voice constructive suggestions on how the conference should best be held, and to share considerations about the future of the republic and its party organization. We spent four hours talking. They are normal people! Well, some of them do not "see certain things straight." However, they do

discuss our problems, albeit in a different language and from a different point of view. I believe that everything would have turned out differently had we embarked on a dialogue with these movements two years ago, when they were still emerging in our republic.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Why didn't the obkom go for contacts with the informals? This is a problem not only in Ufa.

[Gorbunov] Well, some apparatchiks do go for contacts. For example, the secretary of the Ufa Gorkom for ideology is a member of the organizational buro of our most politicized informal organization, the BAID—Bashkir Association of Voters and Deputies. What about the obkom? The people organized an ecological procession—they were branded anti-Soviet elements; the BAID offered to unite at the time of preparing for the elections—"don't believe them, they are anti-Soviet elements." Or, say, a representative of the ecological society proposed that ecology be given "a small slot" on TV where party functionaries and informals could have debates—we do not go for that, we are afraid of something.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Perhaps, it is scary. After all, the party in power is responsible for everything. The position of the informals is going to be more advantageous—they will attack, criticize, and how is one to respond if the water is dirty, and so is the air?

The reason could also be found in life, which is going on at two levels: At one level, they go to work in crowded buses and "get crushed" in lines, and at the other they observe this from the windows of black Volgas or from this luxurious "White House" where we are having this conversation. These levels do not overlap.

[Gorbunov] This aspect does exist, and it cannot be ignored. To be sure, they have even closed down our cafeteria by now. Here is an example for you. A couple days ago I was riding in the secretary's Volga, and next to us was a Volvo purchased by the Novoufimskiy Plant. Is this a privilege or is it not?

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Igor Alekseevich, why do you compare things with the best and not with the worst? Look at all the retirees and families with many children we have. Even beggars have now appeared. Recently, still before the wage increases, it was said that party functionaries make less than many people. Why was it not said that they make more than many people? Such is the psychology of the party apparatus.

[Gorbunov] This is where I can support you, despite being an apparatchik myself.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How true is the reasoning that the work of party functionaries is difficult, and that this is why they have to make more money? The country is in a difficult situation. Do we really not have any ideologically motivated party members left who would

lead an obkom for an average salary rather than hundreds of rubles, and for the only reason that they care for the republic or the city?

[Gorbunov] I am not going to discuss the financial aspect of this issue. However, I am convinced that professionals should work in all positions, including in the party apparatus. Meanwhile, we mainly elect amateurs from among specialists. This is how we have created this condition in the party. We have had different periods—once, we needed construction specialists in the apparatus, then agricultural experts, but not party functionaries. Even now, when passions rage in the republic concerning who should become first secretary, I hear: "We need an agrarian."

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What does a professional party functionary represent? He was a pioneer in the years of Stalin, he was brought up on "The Brief Course," and worked in the Brezhnev period. It is difficult for him to discard his views now...

[Gorbunov] For some reason, we believe that anyone can handle party work. I do not agree with this. A man should handle it who is able to analyze, come to a conclusion on any issue, whether ideological, economic, or concerning organizational party work, and develop proposals. But over many decades we have forgotten how to think.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Could it be that the crisis of the party is so profound for this very reason? At this point, the authorities have not found the rational element we should be guided by, and have not established

contacts with the people either in Transcaucasia or in other "hot spots." This is why it has come to bloodshed, and at times communist kills communist.

[Gorbunov] Personally, my attitude toward how the Central Committee works with the cadres is negative. Over there, the cadres are selected from among the leadership echelon—first secretaries of the gorkoms and obkoms. However, I have never heard of a party obkom instructor being made an instructor of the Central Committee. Meanwhile, the mentality of the leadership is just to lead... He did not cook in "the party kitchen" himself, he had his cooking done by the instructors. Meanwhile, in the Central Committee he has to "cook" for his superiors. He is not capable of analyzing or finding the rational element even in negative things. This is why the information available to him suffers from subjectivity. Secondly, trips by leading functionaries of the Central Committee during which they were shown only the best were very harmful... Comrade Manayenkov recently visited here. He said: "The situation in the republic is good, you are making progress." Two weeks later, the buro resigned.

By the time all of this information reaches M.S. Gorbachev it is not entirely truthful. This was apparently the case with both Azerbaijan and Fergana, and decisions are made that are not entirely fortunate.

Thus, it is more or less clear what happened in Ufa. So far, the party and the informal movements have not come to a mutual understanding. Time will tell whom the people will follow.

### Armenian KGB Chairman Comments on Transcaucasus Conflict Issues

90US0672A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
10 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Candidate Member of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee and USSR People's Deputy, Chairman of the Armenian State Security Committee, Maj Gen V.G. Badamyants, by TASS and Armenpress correspondents: "There Is No Other Way!"]

[Text] [Correspondents] Valeriy Georgiyevich [Badamyants], for a long time now the attention of the Soviet and world public has been focused on the situation in the Transcaucasus. People have begun the day by reading alarming reports on the tragic events in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

[Badamyants] Unfortunately, you are also repeating one of the errors of the mass information media, in endeavoring to put what is happening in the neighboring republics on one level. I know that according to the unwritten laws of our press, we do "not insult" the republics and carefully balance the information. If information is released on pogroms in Baku, then immediately something from Yerevan must be "issued." For instance, on the apprehension of a racketeer, since we do not have analogous pogroms. But this is balancing, as they say, on parity principles over the abyss of a growing mistrust in the press.

I consider such a practice as viewing the situation with excessive objectivity. Certainly the attempts to judge the situation without knowing all the fine points and on the basis of fragmentary and sometimes specially cooked-up facts is a superficiality close to ignorance. I am categorically against identifying the bloody crimes by extremists in Azerbaijan with the self-defense measures by the people in Armenia, measures which at times have also gone beyond the limits of the law but are comprehensible from the moral viewpoint. Without in any means identifying the activities of the extremists with the Azerbaijani people, I would like to draw attention to very essential differences in the political and operational situation in the republics.

The desire of the hotheads from the People's Front to declare Azerbaijan an Islamic republic and their statement on a "second Afghanistan" but now on the territory of the Soviet multinational state are in no comparison with the desire of the people of Artsakh to rejoin their motherland within the Union state.

It would be unethical not to mention in this context that in Yerevan there have repeatedly been dubious and even provocative slogans, including for the withdrawal from the USSR. But these extravagant appeals have not been supported by the republic's population and hence in no degree reflect the opinion of the Armenian people. It would be wrong to identify the activities of a handful of Yerevan shouters with the atrocities of the cutthroats in Baku.

In this sense the appeal by a number of the USSR people's deputies from Armenia to the interregional group of their colleagues was very timely. Unfortunately, they did not inform me of this. I feel that even with a certain categoricalness of individual judgments and views, in essence it is sincere and just. Consider that I also signed it as a USSR people's deputy. But as the chairman of the State Security Committee and possessing precise information on the processes in the republic, I urge my colleagues in the deputy corps to also appeal to their people. To those who, in a situation which has substantially changed after the arrival of the troops which separated the hostile sides and opened up the roads, are continuing to keep the firearms and refuse to return them to those from whom they were taken by force. I am convinced that such an appeal would also be proof of the unbroken ties of the deputies with the fate of the people and an understanding of the explosiveness of the existing situation and the possible undesirable consequences, including inevitable measures to recover the illegally stockpiled weapons.

[Correspondents] How could it happen that the violent seizure of weapons assumed such a mass nature in the republic?

[Badamyants] If it is recalled and honestly recognized that there was a delay by the authorities in taking decisive measures to prevent even the last outrages in Baku and the armed clashes on the frontier of the republics, one can better understand what happened in Armenia.

Imagine the following situation. An enraged crowd threatens to destroy your home, to rape your sisters, to burn your mother alive and tear your children to pieces. But next to your home is the police sitting idle and in a number of instances abetting the criminals while somewhere near the town are troops which have been waiting for orders for 7 days. And the crowd is directly in front of your door. Tell me what self-respecting man would not come to the defense of his own hearth.

It is a different question that in this forced rush of people they were led by those who worked for lawlessness in attacking military facilities and seizing weapons. Again, for the umpteenth time, we were led by events. Now, in hindsight it is clear that we could and should have halted the anarchy and directed this powerful current which had engulfed the entire republic into the proper legal channel. I have in mind, for example, establishing something like detachments to guard law and order and subordinate to the responsible leaders of the law enforcement bodies and the rayons and the strengthening of them with student detachments headed by leaders from the military chairs with strict selection of the militia members excluding the penetration of criminal elements into them. If one proceeds from common human values and goals of establishing a state under the law, this is precisely what we should have done. Then there would have been no bandit attacks on the police, depots and servicemen in the aim of seizing weapons. Any such

attack would have been viewed as banditry and legitimately repulsed with force of arms. Moreover, once the emergency was passed and the troops had arrived, the weapons would have been completely returned to their dumps and would not have fallen into the criminal world. But what can we do if we are all presently learning democracy and for this reason do not immediately find the solely correct decisions.

[Correspondents] The republic public views with indignation the destruction of the engineer and technical works on the Soviet-Iranian frontier....

[Badamyants] I should say that due to the energetic political and administrative measures the border troops have restored the guarding of the frontier on the entire sector of the adjacent republic. Judging from the announcements coming from there, the population in the border zone has reassessed its attitude toward the occurring outrages and vandalism on the state frontier. The peasants and workers, the veterans and the leaders of the farms and enterprises have turned to the border troops with a request to protect them against the wild extremists of the "People's Front."

Since the matter has been raised of the border troops, let us now be completely honest. For instance, which of our social organizations has so decisively condemned the bandit attack on one of the border troop subunits in Yerevan during the night of 16 January? Why is there such selectiveness in political and moral judgments? I in no instance intend to identify one with the other but the details of this piratical operation, I feel, speak for themselves. And this was primarily a well-planned and carefully prepared operation against those who ensure the security of the Soviet-Turkish frontier.

Let us begin with how the attackers operated. Everything went off very quickly. Roles had been assigned. Each group including the capture group, the holding group and the weapons removal group—all operated smoothly and without any additional commands. Each man knew ahead of time what he had to do. Clearly, the installation had been under observation earlier and they had studied the security system and the routes of the sentries over the territory and the time of the relief of the sentries. It is unpleasant to say how the criminals behaved. But it is essential that the people know the truth. They forced Officer Viktor Luney up against a wall and, demanding the release of weapons, twice shot at him from a pistol. Other soldiers on guard duty, including Armenian border troops, were attacked with gun bayonets and butts. None of them surrendered his weapon and the bandits had to find them themselves. They stole a portion of what they found and removed them from the facility.

No propaganda juggling can justify the bandits and their instigators who disarmed the border troops. Incidentally, the leaders of certain organizations know where the weapons seized in this raid are located but are doing everything to prevent their return to those who guard

the USSR frontier and who had every right but showed nobility and did not fire at the people in order to add new grief for the people who are so worn out from the travails befalling them.

[Correspondents] As is known, the USSR Ministry of Defense, the MVD and KGB have issued orders on the use of weapons by the personnel in order to prevent the further capture of them by criminal elements, to prevent new victims among the peaceful population and protect the life of the servicemen and the employees of the law enforcement bodies. What bearing does this have on Armenia?

[Badamyants] The situation here has become intolerable. The servicemen and co-workers of the [security] bodies have shown maximum endurance and restraint. Even at the risk of their own lives, they have refrained from an armed repulse in order to prevent bloodshed. But the real tragedy is that a large portion of the weapons captured from the military facilities has been delivered to criminals, to criminal families and clans. And they, in turn, have rushed to seek protection under democratic processes and cloak themselves as patriots. We have repeatedly encountered this in recent days in arresting the inveterate recidivists. But there have also been other cases. For example, during the night of 28 January, the 22-year-old Karen G. was brought to a hospital with a gunshot wound in his arm. He claimed to be an unemployed "militiaman" who had fought as a hero in Yeraskh. In actuality, as it was learned in the investigation, he had been attacked by two bandits in the area of the Yerevan city cemetery and who were hiding near the building of the rayon DOSAAF. Then other unknown persons came up who forced him to say that he had been wounded in Yeraskh.

There is no need to describe to people how unbridled are the criminals at present. We might recall how recently they buried Police Lt Col Kliment Mamyán who was fatally wounded by criminals in a weapons seizure. We might also recall how Police Sgt Ashot Melikyan died from a gunshot wound. I bear to their relatives the sincerest condolences from the co-workers of the Armenian state security bodies. They were worthy people who carried out their duty completely. May their memory be eternal!

Legal nihilism forms an atmosphere of permissiveness and dissoluteness and in this each person is unprotected and his rights and liberties are in doubt. If a law is bad, then let us change it. There are constitutional mechanisms for this. But as long as a law exists, no one has the right to transgress it. Neither those who under the pretext of an expression of the people's will seize weapons nor those who are obliged to protect and defend this sacredly.

At 0600 hours in the morning, on Sebastiya Street in Yerevan, a group of armed persons tried to halt the car of Grachik Nazaryan. He did not obey, they shot at him and wounded him in the back. What did these people



want in the car of a music school headmaster? Were they seeking to glorify their own strength? Or were they arbitrarily trying to introduce their own state of emergency in Yerevan? Unfortunately, there are many such examples. The acuteness of the situation with weapons has presently reached such a stage that no political, moral or operational considerations can justify further idleness. Many leaders of the social organizations have also voiced concern over this matter. Let us recall the words of one of their leaders stated to an Armenpress correspondent on the criminals who have seized weapons and the necessity of a merciless struggle against them with the entire force of the law. Unfortunately, for now these are just eloquent words aimed at the public.

[Correspondents] A paradoxical situation has arisen. On the one hand, an enormous mass of combat and hunting weapons is in the hands of persons who captured them illegally. On the other hand, there is a law on criminal liability for this. What is the position of the law enforcement bodies?

[Badamyants] Let us discuss this together. What should we do with the article of the Criminal Code on the illegal keeping of firearms? Should we repeal this introducing complete freedom for their sale and bearing? As is known, clear-thinking people throughout the entire civilized world are against such a move. But if this is the case, and we consider the laws in effect in our nation, do not the leaders of the social and informal organizations put their followers in a situation which is in conflict with the law. They themselves, it seems, do not bear weapons and do not fire them. Then how should we understand the appeals voiced at meetings by our home-grown "Kutuzovs" not to surrender the weapons but rather hide them for better times. What times are these?

We are told that the weapons have been issued to the militiamen for protecting Armenians against provocations by extremists from neighboring territories. But, in the first place, the frontiers have already been closed by the army which has assumed this concern and hence there is no need for an armed militia. Secondly, there has been and is no law on the militia itself and consequently there is no legal basis for maintaining the situation which has arisen.

The Armenian procurator's office has already warned the citizenry of the criminal liability for the illegal bearing, storing, purchasing, manufacturing or selling of firearms, ammunition or explosives and has urged the public to voluntarily turn them in. There have also been explanations that according to the law, the persons who voluntarily turn in weapons, ammunition and explosives are freed of criminal liability. So, there has been sufficient time for reflection.

As for the criminals, we together with the republic procurator's office and MVD will deal with them. But let us finally free the honest citizens from the threat of criminal prosecution which hangs over them and their families.

[Correspondents] Unfortunately, recently the people have largely lost their sense of confidence. It may seem that in the given instance they view the proposal to voluntarily turn in weapons as a trick by the law enforcement bodies for which they will be held criminally liable.

[Badamyants] Freedom from liability is guaranteed by the law. And we will do everything so that the law is not violated. In establishing a state under the law, we are obliged to respond sensitively to people who err. We must not punish them but rather warn them against committing illegal actions. That we are doing precisely this can be seen from albeit not a completely recent example.

In October of last year, in an attempt to transport illegally acquired ammunition and explosives out of the republic by air, we apprehended A., a resident of Yerevan. As might be expected, the investigatory department of the republic KGB initiated a criminal case for a crime as described by Part 1 of Article 232 of the Armenian Criminal Code. He was apprehended with the goods and it was no great difficulty to submit a case to court for a severe sentence. But our investigators were confronted by a confused person who was convinced that it was possible to resolve the interethnic conflicts and bring benefit to his people only by force of arms. And it required a good deal of wisdom, tact and sympathy for the fate of this man on the part of our co-workers to help him reassess his views, objectively view the situation in the region and understand the erroneousness and particularly the harmfulness of the criminal enterprise undertaken by him. In further conversations with the KGB employees and a written statement to me, he sincerely repented for what he had done, he pointed to the tactful handling of him in the investigatory department and assured us that now he was persuaded of the need to resolve interethnic conflicts only by constitutional reforms. After a thorough analysis of the materials of the investigation, the Armenian KGB proposed that the criminal case be halted. The procurator's office supported us and on 18 January A. was released from detention and returned home.

[Correspondents] The story is a very persuasive one. But at present the people are relating to one another how on 29 January in Yerevan, soldiers broke into the headquarters of the so-called Armenian National Army and, having put the militiamen up against the wall, disarmed them and roughly frisked them. Moreover, without any reason, they opened fire, killing an innocent man ...

[Badamyants] This undoubtedly is a tragic event. A criminal case has been initiated for this. I am certain that the procurator's office and the public commission which has been established will investigate carefully to see who is to blame. But judging from what I know, this was not exactly what happened. The troops were ordered to recover only the armored equipment which had been stolen from them. The military went to two addresses. The commander of a group of airborne troops went to the headquarters of the so-called Armenian National

Army on Komitas Street and explained the purpose of their visit. They listened to him with understanding and without a problem returned a hail-firing cannon. But when the group approached the other address of the staff in the DOSAAF building on Fioletov Street, it suddenly came under fire. The military fired warning shots in the air but the fire against the column did not stop. They were firing both from the building itself and from the trolley bus garage. The exchange of fire was brief and after this on the territory of the garage they discovered a severely wounded man who soon thereafter died. At the staff no one was searched, no one was arrested and no one disarmed. The military took only the armored equipment belonging to them.

Undoubtedly it is a regrettable fact. And for me I am not so concerned that the victim at the funeral was declared to be one of the bravest fighters of the Armenian National Army. A person was killed and that was that.

[Correspondents] In the republic many informal associations and public organizations are active. What is your opinion of their role and responsibility for the fate of Armenia?

[Badamyants] In their day-to-day activities there are many positive aspects which objectively contribute to the perestroika processes, but there are also numerous extremes and these are externally presented, as a rule, in an attractive package. Behind this, and we must clearly see this, stand real forces with completely definite political ambitions and goals.

I personally approve and support the activities of those informal organizations which work on constitutional bases, on the principles of renewal and a unity of actions of all social forces in the interests of perestroika and socialism, with the strictest observance of legality.

I am ready to pay homage to the true patriots of Armenia who not in words but in deeds are rebuilding the motherland: those who are building houses for the refugees, raising the destroyed villages and towns from the ruins and who in a difficult moment boldly raise their voices against the senselessness and unbridled shamelessness of individual "ultrapatriots" who openly betray the old and faithful friends of Armenia who have always come to its aid at a difficult time. In playing up the complicated and incredible difficulties of perestroika, and without making the slightest effort to return stability and tranquility to our home, these people are employed solely in acquiring political capital for themselves.

For example, I see real patriots in the so-called Charitable Social Council. During the dark days for Armenia, when the dust had not yet settled over the zone of the terrible earthquake and when thousands of refugees from Azerbaijan were in misfortune, they did not chatter about, they did not heighten passions, they did not depict themselves as the "saviors of the fatherland," but rolling up their sleeves, with sweat pouring down and earning heart attacks, they struggled for their ideas, they created and built. It was the good fortune of these people

as well of the entire republic that this association was headed by real patriots of their motherland such as Georgiy Tataryan. Without even establishing an organization and with no thought to popularity, he and his associates were the first to turn over a 50-apartment building in Stepanakert to the refugees. Two buildings in Ashtarak. Six apartments in Goris. The victims were provided with housing in Idzhevan and Abovyan. And now with the participation of their informal associations they have "secured" 26 hectares some 10 km from Yerevan, where a microcity of the future century will appear for the refugees. They are rebuilding two ghost villages in the disaster area and are building housing for a thousand persons where just 7 and 39 remained. In addition, they have looked over a sector of abandoned rocky land in Ashtarakskiy Rayon and want to build there a microtown with 15,000-20,000 persons, 6,000 of whom are Baku specialists and could be employed at the semiconductor plant being built nearby. At present, we need more such patriots.

[Correspondents] Doesn't it seem to you, Valeriy Georgiyevich, that as soon as the question of the informal associations arises, immediately divergent stereotypes and views appear of the "extremists grabbing for power"?

[Badamyants] Certainly the informal associations make it no secret that they want power. . . do not see anything unnatural here. If we establish a state under the law, and this should come about, the elections will be won by the person who has the most constructive, feasible and comprehensible program. It is another matter when they try to attain power by the pressure of force, the dictating of terms and moral terror.

The republic is establishing conditions for the activities of informal and social organizations which adhere to democratic principles of political struggle. But does the presence of armed formations in certain of these organizations fit within these principles? And these do exist in the Armenian General National Movement, the Association of National Self-Determination and certain other organizations.

Attempts are being made to persuade us that the weapons which these associations possess, incidentally illegally, are destined for defense against an "external enemy." Even now when the Soviet Army guarantees the impossibility of the development of the interethnic conflict into a civil war. From what "external enemy" are they expecting an attack? I am convinced that precisely this thesis should be eliminated first, if we want the stabilizing of the situation.

I speak with good reason about the extreme danger of the situation with weapons. Their availability is seductive for many hotheads. Where is the guarantee that the voice of reason will be able to cool their ardor? And don't let them try to convince me that the weapons will supposedly be securely stored by the armed formations of the informal groups. I might recall the moral pressure during

the previous elections, the nighttime blockades of the deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet organized "by the people" and so forth. Where is the guarantee that at the forthcoming elections the voters will not have to vote "to the shots of automatic rifles" of these paramilitary formations? I in no way am asserting that this is about to happen, but isn't it better to have dependable guarantees than show flippancy and negligence.

[Correspondents] Valeriy Georgiyevich, does the Armenian KGB have information about the positions held by the overseas Armenian diaspora about the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict?

[Badamyants] It can be said without exaggeration that particularly in the last 2 years everything happening in the Transcaucasus has vitally concerned our overseas compatriots. The pain of Armenia is also their pain. The overseas Armenian community and its political organizations have unswervingly responded to all the disasters which has befallen their historic motherland. We recall with gratitude the participation of the diaspora in providing aid to the republic's population after the terrible earthquake. Nor has it stood on the sidelines in rebuilding the areas of the disaster zone or helping the refugees and has participated in economic development and in strengthening cultural ties. In particular, in Yerevan they have already opened up agencies of the Armenian Assembly of America and the Armenian Universal Charitable Union.

For this reason, it is perfectly understandable that we should also heed the opinion of our overseas compatriots. We are one people and our problems and concerns are also theirs. From the open overseas press and naturally from other sources I know for certain the general mood among a majority of the Armenians in the diaspora. The opinion of our compatriots comes down to supporting in every possible way the democratic changes occurring in the republic and the nation as a whole as precisely these provide an opportunity for steady movement in the direction of strengthening and developing the sovereignty and independence of Armenia, of giving this real sense but only within the limits of the USSR.

Our compatriots proceed from this fundamental principle in the development and existence of Armenia also in assessing other situations in the region.

Regardless of all the tragicness of events which have occurred in Sumgait, Nagornyy Karabakh and Baku, the general opinion is that only political means and not armed combat are needed for settling the bloody conflict. In their majority our overseas compatriots are unanimous that even a hundred years of talks is better than a month of bloody carnage. Naturally, in the political settlement of any conflict there are not only many opportunities but also problems. We must steadily utilize the former for our benefit while constructively and patiently overcoming the latter. This is the only realistic

way out of the existing situation. Here I agree fully with our overseas compatriots. For us, there is simply no other way.

**From the Editors.** At the request of the authors, the fee for publishing has been turned over to the Armenian Refugee Assistance Fund.

### Armenian Refugees From Tajikistan Comment on Reasons for Flight

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17 Feb 90 p 4

[Article by D. Saakyan, A. Kalantar and Z. Vartanyan: "According to a Familiar Scenario"]

[Text] In these materials many names have been changed. Those who requested that this be done were fearful for the safety of their relatives who are still in the Tajik capital. The desire is completely natural all the more if one considers that the situation in Dushanbe, regardless of the curfew introduced by local authorities, remains tense and difficult to control. The official announcements, as always, provide an incomplete notion of what has happened, while various "voices" try feverishly to fill in this gap. The life of the Armenian population of Tajikistan has also been in danger and aircraft have begun to arrive one after another in Yerevan from there...

### The Offensive Word Refugee

While the TU-154 which was making a special trip from Dushanbe at noon on 15 February was taxiing to the parking area, the members of the staff of the republic State Committee for the Receiving and Housing of Returning Armenians at Zvartnots Airport had begun their last preparations. The aircraft had brought 172 passengers from the capital of Tajikistan. Basically, these were women, elderly and children. On the faces of the people who came down the ramp were fatigue and confusion. The hurriedly collected baggage was not much as only the most essential had been taken along. Relatives met the arriving passengers in the waiting hall. But a majority of the refugees did not even have acquaintances in Armenia. Many of those being met did not know of the fate of their relatives.

Ramina Arzumanoval said:

Over the last year, this is the second move for our family. Some 8 months ago, we had to leave Baku just as hurriedly and we exchanged our apartment there for one in Dushanbe. We had scarcely settled in and purchased some furniture when again we had to leave the now settled place. I arrived in Armenia with two grandsons. My husband and son have remained in Dushanbe. When the first anti-Armenian actions began, my husband was at work. He did not come home as this was dangerous. Tajik friends hid him. Our district militia officer brought me and my two grandchildren at night to the airport. I am very concerned for the fate of my near ones who have

remained in Dushanbe and I have no certainty in tomorrow. When can we acquire our own home and when will we be able to live and work normally?

Seda Gevorkyan arrived with her mother and two children.

When the disturbances, the pogroms and the outrages of the crowd began in the city, our home was surrounded by Tajiks with armbands in order to prevent any actions against the Armenians. But the heightened situation forced us to leave the city. I was more fearful for the life of the children than for myself. There were no illegal actions against us. Tajik acquaintances tried to persuade us not to leave the city. We made our way to Dushanbe Airport without problem. The departure of persons was normally organized. There I met Tatar acquaintances who also were leaving the city.

I work as a science associate in an agricultural institute. Our collective was multinational and very close. The Tajik people were kind and hospitable and remained so. An entire people cannot be condemned from the conduct of a group of extremists who are violating order. Now we are called refugees. This is terrible when a person must abandon his home, his job, the city which has already become his home and leave for the unknown. What awaits us in the future? What did our people do? Many of my Armenian acquaintances did not leave Dushanbe merely because they would be called by the shameful word refugee. I feel that a complete investigation must be made of all of this and the guilty parties punished according to all the strictness of the law.

Amasiyskiy Rayon has been set aside for those who do not have relatives and close friends in Armenia and here people have been brought by special bus. On other days, the refugees have been sent to Martuniyskiy, Yekhegnadzorskiy, Kafanskiy and Sisianskiy Rayons...

#### **Fear Over the City**

Flight 12006 was expected at Zvertnots at 2100 hours on 15 February, but the aircraft had not left Dushanbe, although it was standing ready at the local airport. The TU-154 landed on Armenian land only at 0300 hours during the night of 16 February. The commander of the crew, Pilot 1st Class Arshaluys Khurdoyan related that the delay in the trip had not been due to weather conditions or technical problems. The inhabitants of Armenian nationality in the capital of Tajikistan had to make their way to the airport under the conditions of the commenced curfew. And although the aircraft could carry many more passengers, just 110 persons turned up for the flight. The people were afraid of leaving their homes as in the city in various places, particularly in the airport area which was securely guarded by troops, sporadically shots could be heard and at times these developed into a crossfire.

Vladimir Karapetyan, a systems engineer, arrived from Dushanbe together with his wife and two daughters. Here is what he related:

You know that in your life there are situations when it seems that this had happened to you somewhere before. You wonder and wonder and try to recall, feverishly going through everything in your memory but nothing comes up. All the same, you are pursued by some incomprehensible sensations.

And the events in Dushanbe for me were like something I had already gone through but I did not know when or where. Then came the crowd of young Tajiks, shouting provocative slogans and pillaging everything in their path. Many were high and clearly there were drugs for everyone. Their eyes were red and they saw nothing in front of them. Such scum was capable of anything.

I recall the announcements over the radio and television of the nightmares in Baku and now I was seeing all of this with my very eyes. What was happening, was this really Panislamism in action? Had we not been able to escape this plague? In terms of its fierceness, the bacchanal in Dushanbe could not be compared with what happened in Baku and clearly it must be realized that the anti-Armenian hysteria in Azerbaijan had been building up over the years. But the events in Dushanbe if they had lasted another 2 or 3 weeks could have built up to the pitch desired by the People's Front of Azerbaijan [NFA]. I will not beat around the bush as it was precisely the NFA, since now even a baby knows that all of this has been prepared ahead of time, carefully, according to a scenario scheduled down to the last detail.

"Guests" from Baku had been particularly generous with the students of the vocational-technical and technical schools. Believe me, these are not empty accusations as two of my very close friends, incidentally Tajiks, who helped us escape from this hell, related that they had found large amounts of money on their sons who were students at the vocational-technical schools and to the question of where they got the money, they related that "fellows" had arrived from Baku, and had given money and drugs to anyone ready to settle scores with the infidels and the evil enemies of Islam.

In Dushanbe, representatives of virtually all nationalities can be found residing, continued Karapetyan. The only ones who could not join the self-defense detachments were the Armenians and this was understandable as the Armenians were "set upon" first and they were unable to initiate anything. The slogans with appeals to put an end to the Armenians were quickly replaced by others urging the overthrow of Soviet power and the expulsion of Russians from Tajikistan. At one of the moments no one was giving any thought to anything, but they were merely plundering, assaulting and shouting. The actions of the bandits lost their purpose. Fear settled over the city. In a majority of instances the military did not control the situation.

#### **Chaos Reigned on the Streets**

"This was a typical repetition of the Baku events," related Araik Vartanyan. I myself come from Baku and know perfectly well what happened there and for this



reason I can make a comparison. Both there and here they wanted to get rid of the Armenians first. There were far-reaching goals. The forces which unleashed the pogroms in the capital of Tajikistan were also endeavoring to destabilize the situation and they wanted to paralyze power and proclaim an Islamic republic.

In December-January, emissaries from Baku became more frequent in Dushanbe, they spoke in the mosques and met with the youth. The Baku "trail" can be clearly traced in the Dushanbe pogroms. But the difference was that in contrast to Azerbaijan, the leadership of Tajikistan did not participate in this anti-Armenian hysteria and even attempted to aid us.

A. Arutyunyan: In the recent days of tragedy in Dushanbe, they have already forgotten about the Armenians, although everything began precisely with them. As is known, the catalyst of the events was the "news" that the city authorities were assigning apartments in new construction projects to "5,000" Armenian refugees from Baku, although in actuality there were just 29 such

people and the first thing they were told was the impossibility of receiving apartments as the housing situation in Dushanbe was the most severe. A pretext was needed and then the raging crowd could no longer be pacified. Slogans were proposed for the immediate retirement of the republic leadership, for the transferral of power to the clergy, there were appeals to overthrow authority, chaos reigned in the city and the situation was getting out of control.

Indications of the coming events could be spotted long before 11 February. Even a week or two ago, at a meeting in front of the opera and ballet building, the slogan rang out: "Down with the Armenians!" but at that time no importance was paid to this. The local authorities responded efficiently to the events, they made buses available to the institutions to go to the airport and organized the evacuation of people by air to Armenia.

We have always lived in peace and friendship with the Tajiks, and at present we cannot understand how such a thing could happen. I am certain that this would not have happened without the influence of Baku.

### Editor Chronicles Political Pressures Placed on Local Media

90US0717B Moscow *OGONEK* in Russian No 8,  
17-24 Feb 90 p 27

[Article by Sergey Gulin, editor of KOMSOMOLETS UDMURTII: "A Phraseological Dictionary of the Glasnost Era: From the Experience of the Editor of an Oblast Youth Newspaper"]

[Text] For 3 and 1/2 years, I have been racking my brains over the question: does our oblast leadership need a youth newspaper or not? The answer I get is sad.

I became the editor of the newspaper, KOMSOMOLETS UDMURTII, in May of '86. Why did the lot fall precisely on me, when the possible candidates were discussed in the silence of the mysterious offices. I believe that my application information misled the experienced personnel comrades.

But my experience once again confirms that a person with a clean application can secretly ardently desire to spoil it, somewhat at least, with some kind of trivial nonsense. For example, with two party reprimands, one of which is "severe reprimand recorded." How is that person supposed to act then, who himself selected him according to the documents, himself approved him also and sent him on his way?

In April of '87, when all the responsible people of Izhevsk seemed not to care that they were living in a city named after Marshal Ustinov, KOMSOMOLETS almost published a dozen or so letters from irresponsible citizens, who radically disagreed with the renaming of their native city. It became necessary, in a fatherly manner, to sternly persuade the newspaper's leadership to remove already set up material. What if the people suddenly take to the streets? What if they do not rescind the decision of never-to-be-forgotten Chernenko?

Nevertheless, they were not persuaded.

But a way out was found. The obliging secretary of the Oblast Committee of the All-Union Komsomol, which got together in short order, deflected the publication with the wording: "It is considered inadvisable" (or "premature," I no longer recall exactly). The absurdity of this bureaucratic wording, just like our correctness, was revealed soon enough. Not 3 months had passed when Izhevsk returned to the country's map and no kinds of street conflicts occurred.

It was then that I got the idea of gathering material for a Phraseological Dictionary of the Glasnost Era. And it began to increase in size almost every quarter. Already, by August of this same '87, newspaper associate L. Rodnov, with his article "Only for the Elected Ones," so unbalanced the bureau of the All-Union Komsomol's Obkom that it was suggested to us that we examine the matter of the "advisability of his (i.e., L. Rodnov's—S.G.) use" in the newspaper. Since neither I nor anyone else on the editorial staff ever intended to "use" anyone,

the very matter itself of the "advisability" (what a charming word!) was a moot point. One of the most experienced journalists of KOMSOMOLETS, L. Rodnov is continuing his labours, while readers still recall his article about the privileges of officials at meetings with the editorial staff.

And so, the dictionary is growing rapidly.

Once, at a meeting with the republic's journalists, P.S. Grishchenko, the first secretary of the CPSU Oblast Committee, called the workers of our editorial office "semi-lunatics." Well, it seemed to me that this is way too crude. This is not suitable for my Phraseological Dictionary. There was still a lesson to be learned, for the main source of the nervous situation around the newspaper was discovered.

But these were still little flowers. I managed to gather juicy berries in the fall of this year.

In the north of Udmurtia lies the blessed city of Glazov and industry there produces something about which history is silent. Quite recently, the newspapers discovered in Glazov a new enterprise—the Chepetskiy Mechanical Plant, about which nothing had been heard previously in the press. Just as it was customary not to talk loudly also about the ecological situation in this city, which had been forgotten by Goskomprirody [State Committee for Environmental Protection] and the Council of Ministers, ordinary citizens, meanwhile, regularly recalled its own unity with nature: at times, no kinds of precision instruments are needed, it is enough to breathe deeply to be convinced that the smell is not from a Pitsunda pine tree. Although the instruments, of course, are needed. Without their impartial readings, it is difficult to understand why every fourth resident of Glazov is dying from cancer and every second one from cardiovascular illnesses. Even the understated statistical accounts show that the total annual discharge in to the atmosphere of the city of Glazov of harmful substances amounts to 120,000 tons, i.e., 1.2 tons for each resident. This is two times more than in Izhevsk and four times higher than the national average.

Under these conditions, it should have been inevitable that a public ecology movement would arise. And it did. The Glazov Ekosoyuz [ecology league] united representatives from all layers of the city's workers. At the same time, the nobleness of the goals and the activities of the league, for some reason, caused an undercurrent of irritation in certain official structures. The first and foremost of these was the party gorkom, headed up by its secretary at the time, M. Kozlov.

The editor of the joint newspaper, KRASNOYE ZNAMYA, A. Dengin, whom M. Kozlov had supported in every possible way prior to the ecological publications, was "suddenly" relieved of his duties. Subjected to sharp criticism, he was forced to leave the newspaper "at his own request."

The leaders of Ekosoyuz, feeling that theirs was the blame for the unexpected change in the editor's fate, called him for a frank discussion. The conversation had an epilogue: the facts imparted by A. Dengin could not be left hidden from the light of day. Thus, there appeared an open letter to the readers of our newspaper, which we published under the headline "Why Did the Editor Leave?" along with a selection of other materials on the theme of ecology in Glazov.

Did this ever start something?

But, on the other hand, what started here that was particularly special? Well, there were two or three angry calls from the Glazov Party Gorkom and the Glazov Komsomol Gorkom and, well, they established a couple of commissions for a "signals check" (one of them was an obkom commission) and, well, they organized a deputies' inquiry addressed to the first secretary of the CPSU Obkom, in which they called the publication a "routine fraud"...

We published the inquiry of the Udmurt ASSR Supreme Soviet Deputies from the city of Glazov in the issue without commentaries. The editorial staff had hoped that the calls contained in it for punishment and the statements with their extreme wording would be evaluated on their own and would be perceived as they were supposed to be. The deputies wrote: "...when will there finally be an end to the badgering organized by a group of members of the Ecological League, which calls itself the city's public opinion, through the newspaper KOMSOMOLETS UDMURTII, of our comrade...—M.V. Kozlov? It is simply marvelous, from what depths of public consciousness such strangely worded statements are surfacing! You just ask yourself: can the esteemed deputies really distinguish between organized badgering and well-reasoned criticism? And the criticism is not personal, but rather, directed at the position held by M.V. Kozlov with respect to the construction of a new enterprise—an experimental production branch (FOP) of an SRI of the capital. And this is how the deputies dealt with me: "We believe that the newspaper's editor, Comrade Gulin, has overstepped all the bounds of permissiveness and impunity, smearing dirt on party and soviet workers through the newspaper which he edits."

By the way, the newspaper was interested in how the idea for this document arose. Vyazalshchina, whose name stood first on the inquiry, explained to a correspondent: "Generally, I do not read and do not subscribe to KOMSOMOLETS UDMURTII. But the secretary of our party organization came up to me: "Have you seen this?" I read it. I decided to talk with the other deputies... We joined together and wrote the inquiry." Indeed.

I reiterate, the editorial staff had hoped for an adequate reaction on the part of the obkom. And there was a "reaction": the bureau of the CPSU Obkom noted that the deputies had "correctly raised the matter of the article's non-objectivity"...

The editorial staff of KOMSOMOLETS UDMURTII, in printing the article, was pursuing one goal: to raise, once again, the questions of the ecology in Glazov and the advisability of constructing a new enterprise and the necessity of a city-wide referendum. The bureau pushed these questions aside. The discussion, in fact, was reduced to the destruction of the work of KOMSOMOLETS UDMURTII. And then the opinions of the bureau's members were put into the measured formulas of an official communication. I will quote from it certain phrases which I had immediately extracted for my dictionary: "insulting allusions," "misinformation of the readers," "caustically insulting style" and "just indignation of many workers"... Should I go on or is it recognizable like this? Here is yet one more, the last one, from the text of a decree: "the groundless slandering of the republic's leading bodies."

Unquestionably, about 5 years ago, even half of these labels would have been enough to get rid of the entire editorial staff and to punish thoroughly the komsomol obkom (part of the epithets applies to it). But, explain to me, please: what does "groundless slandering" mean? Does slandering really require some kind of grounds?

This is what I think: Does the party obkom need a youth newspaper? Ours—to our party obkom—is clearly a bone in the throat. Otherwise, at least one of the obkom's members would have asked us for information: are we here really all like this? Slanderers? But no one ever asked anything about our position or attempted to defend the newspaper at the plenum and the editorial staff received the text of a statement which, unfortunately, was not published in the party press. Not that we had any special hope of that: the day before, P. Grishchenko had told me directly that no one would print our particular opinion. Then we considered ourselves as having the right to carry the statement in KOMSOMOLETS UDMURTII. I quote:

"Unfortunately, the facts became more frequent when those criticized, bypassing the editorial staff, appealed to the CPSU Obkom... It is obvious that these appeals are also equal to the 'indignation of many workers of the republic.' We state for the record that, neither in the editorial office's files nor in the current mail, are there any letters in which the workers allegedly protested against the themes touched upon by the editorial staff... Since Gulin's appointment as editor of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETS UDMURTII, there has been no end to the pressure put on the editor and staff of the newspaper on the part of the CPSU Obkom. In the bureau of the CPSU Obkom, the question was also raised about replacing completely the entire staff of the editorial office... The CPSU Obkom is ignoring completely the resolution of the 7th Plenum of the All-Union Komsomol Obkom 'Regarding the Newspaper KOMSOMOLETS UDMURTII and the Principles of Cooperation Between the All-Union Komsomol Obkom and the Editorial Staff.' Therefore, we view the decision of the

bureau of the CPSU Obkom as a command-and-administration and use-of-force method for influencing the editor and the staff as a whole.

Yes, I almost forgot. The expert appraisal of the Udmurt ASSR Goskomprirody considered as impermissible the construction of the FOP in the territory of the city of Glazov. The former first secretary of the party gorkom, M. Kozlov, was elected at a recent plenum of the CPSU Obkom the secretary of the obkom...

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### **Editor Explains Disassociation of Youth Paper from Estonian Komsomol**

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in Russian 1 Mar 90 p 1

[Editorial by MOLODEZH ESTONII editor Sergey Sergeyev: "The First Day Of March"]

[Text] Today, MOLODEZHKA is being issued without the customary attributes in the "banner." Henceforth, there will be no komsomol badge and the newspaper has ceased to be the organ of the Estonian Komsomol's Central Committee.

This step had ripened a long time ago—perhaps, even before the general crisis in the republic's komsomol, and not just the republic's, began to show and before its organizational structure started cracking. And this led to a struggle of opinions within the very organization and led to the fact that the 21st Congress declared a transition period, after which the Estonian Komsomol would cease to operate according to the former charter. This was a complicated period and a time filled with the enormous organizing work of two groups full of initiative—one which decided to refute the premature news about the death of the Estonian Komsomol and to continue its activities and one which established a new organization—the Estonian Youth League.

But our step had ripened, as I have noted, a long time ago. A long time ago, the editorial collective no longer wished to be the organ of the [komsomol] central committee. More attractive was the idea of becoming the organ of the entire organization and not of part of the apparatus. Life, however, introduced its own corrections. And one thing became clear: the komsomol no longer had a monopoly on youth politics and it was no longer the same mass organization it was previously.

And even the newspaper—we will speak frankly about this—was also no longer the same. We were maturing, maturing constantly, but, over the last 2 years, this process became more noticeable and irreversible, for the newspaper boldly got involved in the course of the political and economic events in Estonia and tried to make it possible for anyone who wished to express his own opinion in its pages. And it took its own clear-cut position, which was determined, as it seems to us, by

both common sense and the general democratic views of the members of our editorial collective and by you, our readers. You have always influenced the face of the newspaper and its political policy.

We were maturing. We felt that our reader was also maturing along with us.

I know that we could be reproached today for apostasy. For the betrayal of the young people. And we will most likely be reproached. But today, on behalf of our collective, permit me to assure everyone that the youth theme will never depart from the pages of our newspaper, moreover, it may occupy more noticeable positions than previously. For the renewed youth movement—with all its diversity—will gather strength. And we believe that the Estonian Komsomol will become numerically strong and a fighting organization. And we assure the komsomol veterans, those who have outgrown it because of their age and those who are now taking the initiative upon themselves, we assure you that the paper, not de jure but de facto, will remain yours. It will be glad for your cooperation. And mutual understanding. Indeed, those who have not outgrown the komsomol. I hope, will also not outgrow the newspaper. And not renounce what they love.

Today we are also announcing that we would be glad for cooperation with other youth organizations—in particular, the Estonian Youth League. We will cooperate also with other youth movements, which are arising now or which emerge in the near future. We believe that the young people, not burdened with the load of the stagnant years' stereotypes, will more easily find a common language precisely on the paths of the democratization of Soviet society and will become a noticeable force, which, in the end, will contribute to the flourishing of an Estonia which is humane, sympathetic, free and a true homeland for the generations of people living here, regardless of nationality or roots which stretch into the past. We believe that common sense will prevail over political ambitions and pretensions and the situation in the republic will become stable, which we, on our part, will facilitate in every way possible. For only stability will give us all hope for a better future but under no circumstances will the straining of interethnic relations do this.

We are retaining on our own the former title—MOLODEZH ESTONII. But, in speaking about the fact that the paper has matured, we also think that the time will come to change it also. Given in our "banner" is the date of our founding—15 July, 1950. This means that we are approaching 40 years of age. A splendid age, when there is also experience already, worldly wisdom arrives and strength also increases. It is likely that we will change the title everyone is used to. But, for the time being, we do not have its new version. And it will be difficult to find it—without your help, dear readers, this is simply inconceivable. This is why we are now declaring a competition for the new name of the 40 year-old man of the year.



But for now... For now, we are facing a multitude of problems, not the least of which is the economic base. Now the processes of departmental re-subordination of publications are moving swiftly, or, more accurately, their liberation. The newspaper will become a legal entity. This means new possibilities which we did not

have before. This also means new problems which higher authorities will not solve for us.

And this is why, as before, we need firm ties with you, our readers. We love and value you. And we will not renounce you...

**END OF**

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